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THE
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EDITED BY THE REV. H. M. BAUM

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INCREASE OF THE MINISTRY.

At the late session of our General Convention an attempt was made to procure the addition of the following to the suffrages of the Litany: *That it may please Thee, O Lord of the harvest, to send forth laborers into Thy harvest.* The proposition was at length conveniently, and, perhaps, wisely disposed of, for the time being, by referring it to the new Committee on Liturgical Enrichment. But whatever action might otherwise have been taken upon it, the discussion which it occasioned elicited no expressions of doubt as to the present and urgent need of an increased number of Clergy in our own branch of the Church. It would seem, therefore, that such doubt, though honestly felt by some, cannot be widely prevalent among us. Yet the question is not so simple as, at first, it may appear to be. On the one hand, the facts that, counting our entire list of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, we have but a single Clergyman to about fifteen thousand of the population of the country, and that the ratio of increase, for the last decade, has been much smaller than for any other during fifty years, seem conclusively to indicate a serious deficiency. But, on the other hand, it is estimated that the present number of our Clergy is as one to five hundred of those having any Ecclesiastical connection with us, or in

any way looking to us for spiritual care and instruction ;— and hence it is argued that were our present clerical force fully utilized, none of its members would be over-burdened, nor any actual demands upon them left unsatisfied. Moreover, it is notoriously true that of the Clergy unemployed and vainly seeking employment, at any given time, not a few are men who have approved themselves in the work of the Ministry, according to the terms of their Ordination Vows, and that the average income of those engaged in parochial or missionary work is inadequate to their comfortable support. If this presentation does not quite convince us that the numerical increase of the Clergy has been rather too fast than too slow, it will at least suggest some of the causes which must affect unfavorably our lists of Candidates for Holy Orders. And there are other considerations which should be taken into account by those who are amazed that the whole Church is not filled with alarm, in view of the inadequate number of our Clergy at the present time, and does not hasten to the support of certain special organizations, founded and laboring to supply the great need. Can it be said that we are all quite agreed, even now, as to what is the true mission of our Church in this land, and the special importance of that mission ? what, and of how much value, are the peculiar functions of its Ministry ? and what reckoning should be made of the undertakings, labors, and institutions of other religious organizations ? We *are* all agreed that, on the whole, ours is the better way, and therefore that its prevalence would be, in a greater or less degree, to the advantage of the highest interests of the community. In the measure then that such unanimity can inspire to action, we may reasonably expect united action. But it is manifest that while there continues to be a great diversity of views among us concerning the measure of our responsibility, as a Church, for the spiritual welfare of the Nation, and, again, concerning the functions of the Clergy in fulfilling our obligation, whatever it may be, there will appear a like diversity of opinions respecting the number of Clergy required, and a corresponding interest or want of interest in meeting that requirement. Without considering then that the *modus operandi* of particular societies for the increase of the Ministry may fail to commend itself to all, it should not be expected that *any* appeal for concerted action to fill up the ranks of the Ministry will meet with an equally hearty response from all quarters. Yet we be-

lieve the general conviction to be that here is a real and very grave want: which conviction would express itself, however, not precisely in these terms—We want more men in Holy Orders; but rather thus—We want more ordained men, who are competent to take up and carry on successfully the parochial and missionary work of the Church, *under existing conditions*. Those conditions, hard at the best, are often made much harder by the supineness, the niggardliness, or the cavils of *brethren*, whose bounden duty it is to “remember them who are over them in the Lord, and esteem them very highly in love for their work’s sake.” I do not now refer, however, to the needless and exceptional hardships which the worthiest of our Clergy are too frequently called to endure, but to conditions which environ us everywhere and which cannot soon be essentially changed, nor greatly modified by such changes of our internal economy as have been sometimes proposed. Bishops are reproached for inconsistency because, while joining in the cry for more Clergy, and, it may be, promoting organized efforts for the increase of the Ministry, they answer negatively to the appeals of various Clergymen for employment. But, as the case now stands, the charge is, to say the least, not quite fair, nor is the inference wholly unavoidable, either that the Bishop so answering has no sympathy with the brother appealing to him, or no need of more Clergy in his jurisdiction. These appeals usually come at the time when the Rectorship of some important Parish has fallen vacant. But who does not know that, under our Canons, the Bishop has not the function of appointing to a Rectorship? And is it not the experience of every Bishop that whenever his aid is invoked to fill the Rectorship even of the most inconsiderable Parish, the application is coupled with such a presentation of qualities and endowments *absolutely requisite* in the future Rector, as, first of all, to suggest the query whether this Church can actually have reared such a phenomenal man,—Paul and Apollos, and Cephas all in one,—and therefore competent to heal all carnal divisions, and arouse the lukewarm, and gather in the scattered, and attract the indifferent, and, in a word, “build up the Parish”?

But were the case quite otherwise, and the responsibility of filling vacant Rectorships thrown wholly upon the Bishop, what would be his duty in the premises? Of the Clergy possibly available, should he not seek the most efficient? And, certainly, he must not invite or assign to

any charge one respecting whose ability to meet its real requirements he is either uninformed or doubtful. It would be sheer folly in him, as an administrator, to proceed on the theory that every Priest, having due authority to administer the Word and Sacraments, is therefore qualified to serve efficiently in every Parish. No doubt his judgment in such a matter would be greatly influenced by other considerations, and his appointments made on other principles than those which often govern the action of vestries when "giving a call." He would, for example, lay more stress upon soundness and thoroughness of teaching, than upon readiness or brilliancy of speech, upon excellence of character, than upon popular social qualities; upon an ability to develop the internal resources of a Parish, arouse its dormant consciences, quicken its energies, and thus enlarge and intensify its influence as a spiritual agency, than upon a facility of devising means to "attract the outsiders" with the view of lightening, for shoulders too easily wearied, the burden of parochial support. Nevertheless a Bishop, confronting the same problem which vestries now face when a rectorship falls vacant, would find himself obliged, both by the interests of the Parish, which he is bound first to consider, and by his regard for the happiness of the brother to whom they might be entrusted to give heed to many of those considerations, and to ask many of those questions which are often referred to as illustrating one of the chief evils of our present parochial system. They cannot be ignored under *any* system of clerical appointments. Even were our Parishes generally endowed, or were the support of the Clergy provided from a general fund, still they could not be ignored without detriment to the cause of the Church; and while rectors whether they are appointed or elected, are dependent for their support upon the good-will of the people, the stability of their tenure, which for them certainly is a prime desideratum, as well as the progress of the cause of the Church under their administration, will require other guarantees than mere official competency and faithfulness. But it may be necessary to consider more particularly some of these general conditions to which I have referred, in order to exhibit more clearly the importance of the personal element in the prosecution of our work, and therefore of, at least, a more comprehensive training of our Clergy for that work. Should it be affirmed that these conditions are not essentially different here, in our nominally Christian land, from those which our Lord

portended to His apostles, the assertion might be thought extravagant if not absurd. Yet if, when He said to those first ambassadors, "Behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves," He was sending them not to Gentiles or Samaritans, but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and if, under the type of "wolves," He must therefore have intended to represent the violent opposition of false prophets, and pretended shepherds, and carping unbelievers among God's own people, it is at least conceivable that the conditions *may* be such, in our own time, and land, as to require, on the part of His messengers, the wisdom of the serpent, and the simplicity of the dove.

And, in fact, though we have not to encounter violence, nor persecution in the ancient sense of the term, a jealous and often bitter opposition, even from nominal Christians, we do everywhere encounter as an organization; and our message, if declared in its fulness, is contemned and derided. Our claim to superior ministerial authority is not allowed, but stoutly and virulently denied. Our piety is questioned. Our use of prescribed forms in worship is represented as indicating that we are, of necessity, mere formalists. We are described as being essentially Romanists, or as deeply tainted with Pharisaism; a Church for the rich, a comfortable asylum for the worldly,—entrance to which involves no abjuration of worldliness,—and in many other opprobrious terms. All this may be unfamiliar to some of us. There are particular communities where the Church has been so long established, and so well represented in the persons of her godly members and by her salutary work, as to have lived down these aspersions, and put to silence the cavilling lips. And there are other communities in which we are numerically so feeble, and seem so little likely to effect a permanent lodgement, that the elements of opposition are still latent. But either the battle has been already fought and won, or it is still before us, not merely against the hosts which will always war against the truth and kingdom of our Lord, but for a standing place and toleration among His professed followers, unless we are willing to compromise our distinctive claims and principles, and reduce our organization to the level of a mere sect, which would be equivalent to reducing it, very soon, to a nonentity. And, in general, the contest is yet to come. Viewing the country at large, we actually occupy at present but a small portion of it, and yet there is for us no open field. Go where we will, we shall always

find the representatives of other religious bodies on the ground, and, if not already organized, sure *to be* organized, as one of the first results of any earnest and persistent efforts which we may make to establish ourselves, ecclesiastically, in that locality. A great majority of the people, unless at centres of Roman Catholic immigration, will have been trained in various Protestant denominations, whose Protestantism extends to much which we hold precious, and must proclaim as Divine and immutable truth; and some of *them*, at least, will think that they perceive in our *advances* a serious menace against the best interests of the community. These therefore will bestir *themselves* in opposition to us, and if they need help it will be speedily and liberally given. Nothing so much facilitates the erection of one, two, or three meeting houses in a new community, as the the proposition to build an Episcopal Church there. When all appeals have failed, such an announcement may be depended upon to touch the great heart of the "Church Book Concern," or the "Evangelization Society";—and our brethren of other names should at least confess that they have been oftentimes much indebted to us for putting them in possession of a citadel, from which to fulminate thunderbolts upon our devoted heads. Some of us may be under the impression that, at least in the great West, there are many considerable towns where we, having been the first to build a house of worship, and to offer regular religious instruction and pastoral ministrations to the people, are still in exclusive possession. A more definite report from the Missionary Bishops on this point would immediately dispel such an illusion, and, furthermore, would bring into view the fact that in but comparatively few towns in that region are we to-day, whether numerically or in any material resources as strong as some other religious organization. Nor should we be surprised by such a disclosure, for that which it exhibits is abundantly accounted for by our diminutiveness in the aggregate. It denotes no unfaithfulness or slothfulness on the part of those having our work in charge, nor does it seriously affect the strength of the argument for laying foundations early in those new fields. It simply indicates that the conditions of our work there are essentially the same as elsewhere, and that wholesale accessions to the Church are not to be looked for in the newer communities, merely because those who form those communities have severed themselves from old associations. With the exception of so

many as were, before leaving their Eastern homes, avowed or unavowed Churchmen, they will be found affiliating themselves at first with the religious societies nearest of kin to those in which they were reared ; and only by slow degrees will our Parishes become strong and influential, even where the population is rapidly increasing. Now whatever may be the disproportion of the number of our clergy to the entire population, the practical answer to the question Whether an increase of the Ministry is desirable at a particular moment, must turn upon the answer to this further question, viz.: Can more clergy be, at this time, suitably employed and supported ? And whatever views may be entertained as to the general need, or measures adopted to supply that need, ~~the~~ the number of those seeking the Ministry will not much exceed, ~~at any time~~, the apparent preparedness of the Church to call them into actual service. ~~Are we then now~~ prepared to employ and maintain a larger body of Clergy ? If there is room for doubt on the question of maintenance, it is only because the members of the Church do not sufficiently realize their corporate relations and responsibilities ; because we have not hitherto fully recognized the obligation of "bearing one another's burdens," or devised means of bringing an adequate portion of the resources of the Church into general service. We have the ability, and it is only necessary that we should avail ourselves of it. But is it so certain that, under such external conditions as have been described, a much larger number of Clergy could be profitably employed in parochial and Missionary work ? And again, the sense of individual duty being kept alive, may not the increase of the Ministry be safely and rightly left to the operation of the natural law of demand and supply ? If it be considered that our proper mission as a Church in this land is only to those wholly dissociated from other religious bodies, or at least from such of them as still hold the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, or that we have simply to care for those who, without any seeking or direct efforts on our part, come to us, and connect themselves with us, then it may be fairly questioned whether special efforts to increase the number of our Clergy are either necessary or judicious. For, outside of a few Dioceses and the larger cities, we have not many strong, flourishing Parishes, and these are usually supplied without much difficulty ; the opportunities of establishing the Church at new points, without counting upon accessions from other religious organizations, are not many, and, as

we have already seen, there is no open Missionary field. If then we have only to care for those who are already our own, and those who may come to us without advances towards them, or from the unattached to any other professedly Christian body, we are likely to have Clergy enough to fulfil our obligations. But if, as a Church, we have something better to offer to this whole American people than otherwise they can have,—fuller and purer and more authoritative spiritual instruction, stronger safeguards against religious error, and a completer system of Christian nurture,—then we are bound to put forth all our energies to bring them to a participation of these blessings; then there is a work enough for an indefinitely larger corps of Clergy, and we fail in our duty if, by all proper means, we do not seek to put them into the field as speedily as possible. But the difficulties are so great when we enter upon this mission, the materials so intractable, opposing prejudices and traditions so deep rooted, false conceptions of our doctrines and methods so prevalent, our mode of worship so unfamiliar and unpopular, that for success in it we need, as pioneers and leaders, men of high personal qualities, men divested of the spirit of selfishness and fully imbued with the spirit of Christ, men of practical ability, diligent, patient, humble yet bold, simple yet wise, uncompromising yet loving.

Assuming that our Clergy generally receive a sufficient theological education, and are not notably weak in public or private discourse, or spiritually undisciplined, we yet cannot utilize to any great extent in this larger field mere ecclesiastics or routine men, or those who cannot discern or will not heed the peculiar conditions of their own sphere of labor, or who are intolerant of all other than ideal standards and methods in teaching and ministering, or who are procrastinating or fitful in their work, or who exhibit marked personal or official eccentricities. On the other hand there is no one of our Bishops who could not and would not gladly at this moment, notwithstanding the few resources at his command, give employment, and a maintenance to more Clergymen (not bringing too large a retinue of dependents) respecting whose fitness and ability in certain directions he should have been well assured;—and the questions asked by him would seldom refer to mere theological *views*.

With respect to methods for the increase of the Ministry beyond the one Divinely prescribed method which alone can,

be effective, I shall speak but very briefly. The duty and necessity of praying unto the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into His harvest does not necessarily imply either the inutility or inexpediency of other acts to the same end, not commonly included in the conception of prayer, any more than it nullifies the function of the Church to train for their work the laborers whom God sends in answer to prayer. And certainly it seems a plain obligation to set forth openly the need, so far as it is apparent to us, and to represent continually the honorableness and blessedness of the vocation. Furthermore, considering the special qualifications required for the successful prosecution of the work of the Ministry in this country, should we not have made, and should we not now make a more direct and persistent appeal to the consciences of men who have already, in other callings, exhibited that practical energy and wisdom, an infusion of which into the ranks of the Ministry is so greatly to be desired? Why do we in this matter address ourselves so exclusively to the untried and unformed, and not rather seek, first of all, to avail ourselves of tested character and disciplined powers?

Against the plan of associated effort for the sustentation of Candidates for Holy Orders it has been urged, first, That those whose hearts have been really inclined to the sacred office by God Himself, and who have sufficient force of character to serve in that office with advantage to the Church, will, when accepted as Candidates, find, if they have not, the means of self-support during the period of their probation; and secondly, That men may be thus drawn into the Ministry by worldly inducements. We admit the truth of the former of these propositions, but answer that it presents no sufficient argument against the work of sustentation societies. For if there is a present need of more laborers, we should call upon probationers to devote themselves exclusively to the work of preparation, and thus bring them into the field as soon as practicable. To the second adverse suggestion, we reply that men cannot be tempted *into* an office to which they must needs be commissioned, however they may be tempted to seek that office;—and a sufficient safeguard against the intrusion into the Ministry of unworthy Postulants is to be sought and will be found in more rigorous examinations, and a more careful and thorough supervision of Theological students.

Let the expenses of a Theological training in our chief

schools be reduced by adequate endowments of those schools to a mere nominal sum for *all, without distinction*. And when, beyond this, the Church shall have become sufficiently mistress of her own resources, and wise enough in the use of them to *undertake the sustentation of all her commissioned officers from her own treasury*, exacting as a correlative obligation that they shall go wherever sent, and stand wherever placed until further orders, then will her prayer for an increase of competent laborers be answered according to the largeness of her responsibility for the ingathering of the harvest.

H. A. NEELY.

REVISION OF THE AMERICAN COMMON PRAYER.*

The revision of long established formularies of public worship is, as it ought to be, a matter compassed about with obstacles many and great. A wise doubtfulness prompts conservative minds to throw every mover for change upon the defensive, when liturgical interests are at stake. So many men are born into the world with a native disposition to tamper with and tinker all settled things, and so many more become persuaded, as time goes on, of a personal "mission" to pull down and re-make whatever has been once built up, esteeming life a failure unless they have contrived to build each his own monument upon a clear-

*The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments. And other Rites and Ceremonies as revised and proposed for the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Philadelphia: Printed for Hall & Sellers. M.DCC. LXXXVI.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments; and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David. The Standard Edition of 1871.

The Memorial Papers. The Memorial with Circular and Questions of the Episcopal Commission. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1857.

The Daily Service. A Book of Offices for Daily Use through all the Seasons of the Christian year. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1874.

ing, that lovers of the old ways are sometimes compelled in sheer self-defence, to put on the appearance of being more obstinately set against change than they really are. It ought not to be absolutely impossible to alter a national hand-book of worship (which is what any manual calling itself a Common Prayer must aspire to become) but it is well that it should be all but impossible to do so. Logically it might seem as if the possession of a power to make involved a continuance of power to re-make; and so it does, to a certain extent, but only to a certain extent. Living organisms cannot be remodelled with the same freedom as dead matter. A solemnity hangs about the moment of birth that attaches to no other crisis in a man's life until death comes. Similarly there are certain features which the founders of institutions the first makers of organic law imprint lastingly upon their work. We may destroy the living thing so brought to birth; to kill is always possible; but only by very gradual and plastic methods can we hope in any measure to reconstruct the actual embodiment of life once achieved. The men of 1789 had us in their power, even as the men of 1549 had had both them and us. In every creative epoch many things are settled by which unborn generations will be bound.*

It may be urged that this is an argument against adopting liturgies in the first instance as vehicles of worship; and such undoubtedly it is in so far forth as immobility ought in such matters to be reckoned a disadvantage. But we are bound to take into account the gain which comes with immobility as well as the drawbacks. We must consider how large a proportion of the reverence which the great institutes of human life exact from us is due to the fixity of the things themselves. Mount Blanc loses nothing of its hold upon our reverence because we always find it in the same place. Men like to feel that there is something in the world stronger than the individual will, stronger simply because it expresses the settled common

*Much confusion of thought and speech in connection with our ecclesiastical legislation grows out of not keeping in mind the fact that here in America the organic genetic law of Church, as well as of the State is in writing, and compacted into definite propositions. We draw, that is to say, a far sharper distinction than it is possible to do in England between what is constitutional and what is simply statutory. There is no function of our General Convention that answers to the "omnipotence of Parliament." This creative faculty was vacated once for all at the adoption of the Constitution.

sense of many as to what is fitting and right in contrast with the whim of one. Lawyers, as a class, are almost as conservative as ecclesiastics, and for the very reason that they also are charged with the custody of established forms which it is important that men should reverence. Laws affecting the tenure of property, the binding force of contracts, the stability of the marriage relation, not only cannot be lightly altered, the very phraseology in which they are couched must be carefully handled, for fear lest with the passing away of the form something of the substance go also.

Moreover the affections of men fasten themselves very tenaciously to such a trellis as a liturgy affords. The love for "the old words and the old tunes" against which all innovators in hymnody, however deserving, have to do battle, asserts itself under the form of love for the old prayers with ten fold vehemence. An immense fund of latent heat smoulders under the maxim "Let the ancient customs prevail;" and few of the victories achieved by the Papacy are so startling as those that have resulted in the displacement of the liturgical uses of local Churches, that of Paris for example, by the Roman rite.

But true principles, as we are often reminded, become falsehoods when shoved across the line of proper measure. The very cycles of the astronomers have an end, and the clock-work of the most ancient heavens, or at least our reading of it, calls, from time to time, for readjustment. So long as man continues fallible his best intended workmanship will occasionally demand such alteration for the better as, within the limits already pointed out, may be possible.

Many signs of the times suggest that the hour for a fresh review of the Anglican formularies of worship is nigh at hand. Some of these tokens are written on a sky broad enough to cover the whole English-speaking race, others of them are visible chiefly within our own national horizon. With respect to the English book, Cardwell* writing in 1840 and Freeman† in 1855, considered revision, however desirable in the abstract, to be a thing utterly out of reach, not within the circle, as the parliamentary phrase now runs, of "practical politics."

* Conferences, p. 461.

† Principles of Divine Service. Vol. I, p. 390

But it may be fairly questioned whether these high authorities, were they living to-day, would not concur in the judgment of a more recent writer when he says,—in language which, *mutatis mutandis*, applies to our own case. "The most weighty plea in favor of timely inquiry into the subject is that the process of Revision is actually going on piecemeal, and with no very intelligent survey of the bearings as a preliminary to any one instalment. The New Lectionary of 1871, the Shortened Services Act, the debates in the Convocation of Canterbury on rubrical amendments, none of them marked by any sufficient care or knowledge, and all fraught with at least the possibility of serious consequence, are examples of formal and recognized inroads on the Act of Uniformity; while such practical, though unauthorized additions to the scanty group of Anglican formularies as the Three Hours' Devotion, Harvest Thanksgivings, Public Institution of Incumbents, Ordination of Readers and Deaconesses and Children's Services prove incontestably that the narrow limits of the Common Prayer Book are no longer adequate for the spiritual needs of the Church of England. . . .

It is evident then that contented acquiescence with the old state of things already belongs to the past, and that a return to it is impossible. We must perforce advance, for good or ill, in the path of Revision, and cannot even materially slacken the pace nor defer the crisis. One choice, however, is left in our power, and that is the most important of all, namely the direction which Revision shall take—that of conservative and recuperative addition, or that of further evisceration, ceremonial or devotional."*

A measure looking in the direction towards which this reviewer points was actually passed by the General Convention of our own Church at its late session in October, 1880.

The wording of the Resolution referred to was as follows:

"*Resolved*: That a Joint Committee, to consist of seven Bishops, seven Presbyters and seven Laymen be appointed to consider and report to the next General Convention, whether, in view of the fact that this Church is soon to enter upon the second century of its organized existence in this country, the changed conditions of the national life do not demand certain alterations in the Book of Common

* Church Quarterly Review. London, October, 1876.

Prayer in the direction of liturgical enrichment and increased flexibility of use."*

In the present article the writer proposes to inquire, in connection with this measure, (1.) What motives may fairly be supposed to have actuated the Convention in allowing so important an initiatory step to be taken.

(2.) What measure of authority was conferred on and what scope given to the Joint Committee then constituted.

(3.) What reasons exist for considering the present a happy moment to attempt liturgical revision, within certain limits, should such a thing be determined upon.

(4.) What serious difficulties and obstacles are likely to be encountered in Committee, in Convention, and in the Church at large.

(5.) What particular improvements and adjustments of our existing system would be, in point of fact, best worth the effort necessary to secure them.

I.

MOTIVES.

The interpretation of motives, difficult enough in the case of individuals, becomes mere guess-work when the action under analysis is that of a large body of men. Which one of many considerations urged upon the Convention carried with it the supreme weight of persuasion in this particular instance it is impossible to say. Two or three arguments, however, from their frequent re-appearance in the debate, may fairly be judged to have exercised a controlling influence. One of these was hinted at in the language of the resolution itself, namely, the call for revision that has grown out of "the changed conditions of the national life." Shrewd and far-seeing as were William White and his coadjutors in their forecast of nineteenth century needs made from the standpoint of the Peace of Versailles, they would have been more than human had they succeeded in anticipating all the civil and ecclesiastical consequences destined to flow from that memorable event. Certainly it ought not to be held strange that this "new

*The votes of the House of Bishops are not reported numerically. In the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies the vote stood as follows:

"Of the Clergy there were 43 Dioceses represented,—Ayes, 33: nays, 9: divided: 1. Of the Laity there were 35 Dioceses represented,—Ayes, 20: nays, 11: divided: 4."

Journal of Convention of 1880, p. 152.

America" of ours, with its enormously multiplied territory, its conglomerate of races, its novel forms of association, its multiplicity of industries not dreamed of a generation ago, should have demands to make in respect to a better adaptation of ancient formularies to present wants, such as thoughtful people count both reasonable and cogent. That a Prayer-Book revised primarily for the use of a half-proscribed Church planted here and there along a sparsely inhabited sea-coast, should serve as amply as it does the purposes of a population now swollen from four millions to fifty, and covering the whole breadth of the continent, is marvel enough; to assert for the book entire adequacy to meet these altered circumstances is a mistake. "New time, new favors and new joys," so a familiar hymn affirms, "do a new song require." We have conceded the principle so far as psalmody is concerned, why not apply it to the service of prayer as well as to that of praise, and in addition to our new hymns secure also such new intercessions and new thanksgivings as the needs of to-day suggest.

The reference in the resolution to the approaching completion of the century has since been playfully characterized as a bit of "sentimentalism."* The criticism would be entirely just if the mere recurrence of the centennial anniversary were the point chiefly emphasized. But when a century closes as this one of ours has done with a great social revolution whereby "all estates of men" have been more or less affected, the proposal to signalize entrance upon a fresh stretch of national life by making devotional preparation for it is something better than a pretty conceit; there is a serious reasonableness in it.†

Every revision of the Common Prayer of the Church of England, and there have been four of them since Edward's first book was put in print, has taken place at some important era of transition in the national life: and con-

* Church Eclectic for Nov., 1880.

† Remembering the deluge of "centennial" rhetoric let loose upon the country five years ago, another critic may well feel justified in finding in the language of the resolution what he considers "an unnecessary *raison d'être*." But it is just possible that centennial changes rest on a basis of genuine cause and effect quite independent of the decimal system. A century covers the range of three generations, and the generation is a natural, not an arbitrary division of time. What the grand-father practices the son criticises and the grand-son amends. This at least ought to commend itself to the consideration of the lovers of mystical numbers and "periodic laws."

versely it may be said that every civil crisis, with a single exception, has left its mark upon the formularies.

To one who argues that because we in this country are evidently entering upon a new phase of the national life we ought similarly to re-enforce and re-adjust our service-book, it is no sufficient reply to urge the severance effected here between Church and State. The fact that ours is a non-established Church does not make her wholly unresponsive to the shocks of change that touch the civil fabric. In so far as a political renewal alters the social grading of society, bringing in education, for instance, where before it was not, or suddenly developing new forms of industrial activity, the Church, whether established or not, is in duty bound to take cognizance of the fresh field of duty thus suddenly thrust upon her, and to prepare herself accordingly.

In the Preface added to the English Prayer-Book at the Restoration, and commonly attributed to Sanderson, "that staid and well-weighed man," as Hammond called him, there occurs a sentence which, both on account of its embodying in few words the whole philosophy of liturgical revision and because of a certain practical bearing presently to be pointed out, it is worth while in spite of its familiarity, to quote;—

"The particular forms of Divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place of authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient."

Contemporaneously with this utterance there came into the Prayer Book, as a direct consequence of the enormous enlargement of the naval and commercial marine that had taken place under the Commonwealth, the "Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea." Here was a wise and right-minded recognition of a new want that had sprung up with a new time, a want which jealousy of the Puritans who had built up the naval supremacy did not prevent the Caroline bishops from meeting. But the change that passed on England during five years of Cromwell was as nothing compared with the transformation of America under ninety-five years of the federal constitution. Take a single il-

lustration. The year of 1789, the date of the Ratification of the American Prayer Book, saw sea-island cotton first planted in the United States and it was about that time that upland cotton also began to be cultivated for home and foreign use. As the effect of this scarcely noticed experiment there straightway sprang up an industry, North and South, which has been to our country almost what her shipping interest is to Great Britain. Bishop White and his associates were not to blame for failure to provide bread that all this unanticipated multitude of toilers should eat. And yet a failure there had been. No one who has not labored at the task of trying to commend the Church of the Prayer-Book to the working class, as it is represented in our large manufacturing towns, can know how lamentable that failure is. We gather in the rich and the poor, but the great middle class that makes the staple and the strength of American society stands aloof.

Nowhere in this country, for instance, has the Church had a better opportunity to show what it could do for American people than in the city of Lowell, where cotton spinning had its first large development. It was a virgin soil: the Episcopal Church, as rarely happens, was earliest on the ground: and, not only so, but it enjoyed for some years, the friendly protection of the proprietors of the new settlement, almost a religious monopoly,—was, in fact, an ecclesiastical preserve. Moreover this beginning antedated the Irish occupation by many years, at least so far as skilled labor was concerned, for during a considerable period the operatives in the mills were of native New England stock, the best possible material to be made over into churchmen and churchwomen. And yet notwithstanding all this, and notwithstanding the patient and unintermitted toil through more than fifty years of perhaps the most laborious parish priest on the American clergy list, the Episcopal Church has to-day but a comparatively slender hold upon the affections and loyalty of the people of this largest of the manufacturing cities of New England.

A similar failure to "reach the masses," betrays itself in Worcester and Fall River, the two cities of like character that come next in order of population, for in the former of these last named places only about two per cent. of the inhabitants have affiliations of any sort with the Episcopal Church.

It was considerations of this sort, backed perhaps by memories of the ringing appeal sounded three years before

at Boston by the Bishop of Connecticut, that moved the Convention to interpret as something better than a bit of sentimentalism, the invitation to look the times in the face, and give the new century its infant baptism.

But besides all this there pressed upon the mind of Bishops and Deputies a cumulative argument of a wholly different sort. The demand for revision seemed to be closing in upon the Church on converging lines. It was plain that, before long, hands of change must necessarily be laid upon certain semi-detached portions of the Prayer-Book. There was the new Lectionary, for example, that would presently be knocking for hospitable reception within the covers, and the old Easter tables, as they now stand, could not, it was observed, last very much longer. A new book, in the publisher's sense of that term, would soon have to be made. The sanctity of stereotype plates must be disturbed. Moreover, here was an admirable opportunity to settle the wrangle, now of nine years standing, over the best way of bringing to pass shortened services for week-day use. Add to this the fact that the intrinsic weakness of the driblet method of revision* had been made so abundantly plain that even its former friends wisely refrained from all attempt to urge it, and our summing up of probable motives becomes approximately complete.

II.

AUTHORITY AND SCOPE.

As to the measure of authority conferred on, and scope allowed to the Committee of Twenty-one, it is possible to speak with more definiteness.

A precisian might of course, were he so disposed, take up the ground that the report of the Committee when

* The real argument against the "driblet method" (by which is meant the concession of improvement only as it is actually conquered inch by inch) lies in what has been already said about the undesirability of frequent changes in widely used formularies of worship.

It may be true, as some allege, that a revision of the Prayer-Book would shake the Church, but it is more likely that half a dozen patchings at triennial intervals would shatter it. After twenty years of this sort of piecemeal revision, a *variorum* edition of the Prayer-Book would be a requisite of every well furnished pew.

The late Convention has been twitted with inconsistency on the score of having negatived outright the proposal for a Commission to overhaul the Constitution of the Church while consenting to send the Prayer-Book to a committee for review. Discernment would be a

made ought to be monosyllabic, "Yes" or "No." The wording of the resolution admits of such a construction beyond a doubt; the Joint Committee was requested to consider and report whether etc. etc. But no one who listened to the debate on the resolution could have been left in uncertainty as to the real *animus* of the measure. The thing intended to be authorized was an experimental review, with implied reference to a limited revision at some time future, in case the fruits of the review should commend themselves to the mind of the Church.

A distinction must be drawn between revision and review. Revision implies review as an antecedent step, but review is by no means necessarily followed by revision. The English book was reviewed and revised in 1662; it was reviewed but not revised in 1689. Review is tentative and advisory; revision is authoritative and final. In the present instance not an atom of power to effect binding change has been conveyed. No authority has been given to anybody to touch a line or a letter of the Prayer-Book save in the way of suggestion and recommendation. Responsible action has been held wholly in reserve.

Moreover even the pathway of review was most scrupulously hedged. Applying to the resolution the legal maxim *expressio unius est exclusio alterius*, one sees at a glance that doctrinal change is a matter left wholly on one side. The two points to which the Committee is instructed to bend all its studies are "liturgical enrichment" and "increased flexibility of use." Whatsoever is more than these is irrelevant. Accurate distinguishment between such "enrichments" as have and such as have not a doc-

better word than inconsistency, for although on grounds of pure theory the Constitution and the Prayer-Book seem to stand in corresponding attitudes as respects methods of amendment, in practice the difference between the two is very wide. Triennial changes in the letter of the Constitution (and these have often been made) involve no inconvenience to anybody, for the simple reason that that document must of necessity be reprinted with every fresh issue of the Journal. Old copies do not continue in use, except as books of reference, but old Prayer Books do hold their place in parish churches and the spectacle of congregations trying to worship in unison with books some of which contained the reading of 1880, others that of 1883 and still others that of 1886 would scarcely edify. Theoretically, let it be freely granted, the "driblet method" of amendment is the proper one for both Prayer Book and Constitution but the fact that the Convention had eyes to see that this was a case to which the maxims of pure mathematics did not apply should be set down to its credit, rather than its discredit.

trinal bearing is, no doubt, a delicate point, and must be set down among the difficulties to be encountered. As such it will be considered further on. For the present the fact to be noted is that the authorized reviewers are both in honor and in duty bound to keep themselves absolutely clear of controversial bias. The movement is not a movement to alter in any slightest respect the dogmatic teaching of the Church, not a movement to unsettle foundations, not a movement towards disowning or repudiating our past, but simply and only an endeavor to make the Common Prayer, if possible (and we are far from being sure, as yet, that it is possible), a better thing of its kind, more comprehensive, more elastic, more readily responsive to the demands of all occasions and the needs of "all sorts and conditions of men." Some who are deeply persuaded that only by doctrinal revision in one direction or another can the Prayer-Book be made thoroughly to commend itself to the heart and mind of the American people will esteem the measure of change above indicated not worth the effort indispensable to the attainment of it. Be it so; other some there are who do think the attempt well-advised and who are willing to waive their own pet notions as to possible doctrinal improvements of the book for the sake of securing a *consensus* upon certain great practical improvements which come within the range of things attainable.

Certain it is that any attempt of a body of reviewers like this to disturb, even by "shadowed hint," the existing doctrinal settlement under which we are living together, would be resented by the whole Church.

There are divines among us who in the interest of a more sharply defined orthodoxy are conscientiously bent upon securing the reintroduction among our formularies of the so-called Athanasian Creed.

There are others who consider that a more damaging blow at the catholicity of our dogmatic position as a Church could scarcely be dealt.

Again, there are theologians who account the Prayer-Book to be so thoroughly saturated in all its parts with the sacramental idea, that they would account it not only a piece of far-seeing statesmanship, but also a perfectly safe procedure to allow those who chose to do so to thank God after a child's baptism for the simple fact that he had thereby been "grafted into the body of Christ's Church."

But over against these stand a much larger number who

think nothing of the sort, and who would put up with the liturgical shortcomings of the Prayer-Book, go without "enrichments" for a thousand years, rather than see the single word "regenerate" dropped out of the post-baptismal office.

Sensible men not a few are to be found who hold that the incoming tide of host-worship with which, as they conceive, our reformed Church is threatened can never be stayed unless some carefully contrived definition inserted in the Prayer-Book shall make impossible this subtle and refined species of idolatry. But men no whit less sensible laugh them in the face, pointing to the "black rubric" and its history as evidence that between the admitted doctrine of the real presence and the disallowed tenet of transubstantiation no impervious barrier of words can possibly be run.

These illustrations of probable divergence in opinion, in case the field of doctrine were once entered, might be multiplied. The re-translation of the Nicene Creed and the more accurate punctuation of its sentences; the rendering of the word Sabbath in the Fourth Commandment into its English equivalent of Rest; the abolition of the curious misnomer under which we go on calling XXXVIII Articles XXXIX; the removal from the Catechism, or else the conversion into mother English of that sad *crux infantum* the answer to the question, "What desirest thou of God in this prayer?" are a few examples of less importance than those previously cited; and yet, in the case of the least of them, it is most unlikely that the advocates of change would have the show of hands in their favor, so sensitive is the mind of the Church to anything that looks in the least degree like tampering with the standards of weight and measure the shekels of the sanctuary.

On the other hand, there are certain manifest and palpable instances of inaccuracy and, more rarely, infelicity of diction which the reviewers might very properly take occasion to amend even though such alterations could not be classified by a strict constructionist under either of the two heads "enrichment" and "flexibility." In the masterly Report of the Rev. Dr. T. W. Coit to the Joint Committee appointed by the Convention of 1841 to prepare a Standard Prayer-Book,* a document of classical rank, there

* Reprinted together with a supplementary letter in the Journal of the Convention of 1868.

is more than one intimation of the hope that future reviewers would be given a larger liberty in this direction than he had himself enjoyed. He chafed, and naturally enough, under the necessity of reprinting in a "standard" book, evident and acknowledged solecisms and blunders. "We wanted," he says, "to correct one ungrammatical clause in the Consecration Prayer of the Communion Service. It is in the last sentence but one, at its close. It should be, not that he may dwell in them and they in him; but, that he may dwell in us and we in him. The prayer is made up out of two or three others; and anyone who will examine the parts put together, will easily see how the thing was overlooked. A much greater error was overlooked elsewhere; showing that our American compilers were not sufficiently aware of the necessity which requires that the Prayer-Book should always be consistent with itself. I allude to something in the office for the Private Baptism of Children. Suppose a Clergyman to avail himself of the license given in the Rubric after the certification. He will then be made to talk thus: "As the Holy Gospel doth witness to our comfort, on this wise—Dost thou in the name of this child," etc.*

Other cases of evident inaccuracy, besides those referred to by this eminent critic, might be cited, even from the latest Standard Prayer-Book, that of 1871. It is hard, for instance, to imagine even the veriest martinet in such matters objecting to the redress of a great wrong done on page 36 of the volume mentioned, where the prayer "to be used at the meetings of Convention" is entered under the general heading "For malefactors after condemnation." Our ecclesiastical legislators have doubtless, like the rest of us "erred and strayed" more than once, but to deal out to them such harsh measure as this is cruel.

A strange uncertainty would seem from the Rubric to exist with reference to the limits of the Litany. On page 554 of the Standard Prayer-Book, the words "Here endeth the Litany," occur immediately after the prayer "We humbly beseech Thee, O Father," while on page 31 the same statement is placed immediately after the minor benediction.

These are not faults for which it could ever be worth while to revise a Prayer-Book, but they are blemishes of which the revisers of a Prayer-Book ought to take note.

* Dr. Coit's letter of 1868, also reprinted in Journal of that year.

It is a graver matter to speak of infelicities of diction in a book so justly famous as the Prayer-Book for its pure and wholesome English. Wordsworth's curse on

"One who would peep and botanize
Upon his mother's grave"

seems, in the judgment of many, fairly earned by the critic, who ever he may be, who ventures to suggest that in any slightest instance the language of the formularies might have been more happily phrased. But there are spots on the sun. In the prayer already referred to, that for use "at the meetings of Convention" the petition, "We beseech thee to be *present* with the council of thy Church here assembled in thy name and *presence*," does seem open to the charge of tautology if nothing worse.

It would be well if wherever the word occurs in the Prayer-Book in connection with Deity the anthropomorphic plural "ears" could be replaced by the symbolic singular "ear."

Considering also the great evil of having in a formulary of worship too many things that have to be laboriously explained, it might be well if in the Litany the adjective "sudden," which ever since Hooker's day has given perpetual occasion for cavil, were to yield to "untimely," or some like word more suggestive than "sudden" of the thought clumsily expressed in the "Chapel Liturgy" by the awkward phrase "death unprepared for."*

It must be again remarked that these are not points for the sake of which word-fanciers would be justified in disturbing an existing order of things; they are simply instances of lesser improvements that might very properly

* See *Book of Common Prayer according to the use of King's Chapel, Boston*. Among the rhetorical crudities of this emasculated Prayer-Book (from the title page of which, by the way, the definite article has been with praiseworthy truthfulness omitted) few things are worse than the following from the form for the Burial of Children, a piece of writing which in point of style would seem to savor more of the Lodge than of the Church—"My brethren, what is our life? It is as the early dew of morning that glittereth for a short time, and then is exhaled to heaven. Where is the beauty of childhood? Where is (*sic*) the light of those eyes and the bloom of that countenance?" * * "Who is young and who is old? Whither are we going and what shall we become?" And yet the author of this mawkish verbiage probably fancied that he was improving upon the stately English of the Common Prayer. It is a warning to all would-be "enrichers."

accompany larger ones, should larger ones ever be seriously undertaken.

With so many pegs upon which controversies might be hung, staring us in the face, can we think of it as at all likely that any considerable number of churchmen assembled in committee (to say nothing of Convention) will be able to agree upon a common line of action with reference to an amendment of the formularies?

That is the very point at issue, and how it is to be decided only the event can show. Certainly in the roll of the victories of charity, a favorable result, were it achieved, would stand exceeding high.

This reflection naturally leads up to the enquiry whether there is any special reason to consider the present a happy moment to attempt within the limits already defined a revision of the Prayer-Book.

III.

TIMELINESS.

The argument for timeliness has been, in part, already stated. A revision will be timely, if the times imperatively demand it; and the main reasons for thinking that they do are before the reader. Something, however, is still left to be said in evidence that the movement now begun is opportune,—not rudely thrust upon the Church. "To everything," saith the preacher, "there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven," and among the categories that follow this statement, we find reckoned what answers to liturgical enrichment, for "there is," he observes, "a time to build up."

Fifty years ago, a persuasive argument against attempting to amend the Prayer-Book, either in text or rubrics, might have been based upon the lack of hands competent to undertake so delicate a task. Raw material well adapted to edification was lying about in blocks, but skilled workmen were scarce. This can hardly be said to-day. Simultaneously with the beginning of the Oxford movement there naturally sprang up a fresh interest in liturgical studies, an interest which has gone on deepening and widening until in volume and momentum the stream has now probably reached its outer limit. The convincing citation, "There were giants in those days," with which a late bishop of one of the New England dioceses used to enforce his major premise that wisdom died with Cranmer

and his colleagues, no longer satisfies. Probably no period of corresponding length in the whole range of English Church history has shown itself so rich in the fruits of liturgical study as the fifty years that have elapsed since the introduction into the English Parliament of the first Reform Bill.* This particular historical landmark is mentioned on account of the close connection of cause and effect between it and the remarkable movement set on foot by Newman, Pusey, Keble and Froude. To be sure, one of the earliest utterances in the Tracts ran in these words: "Attempts are making to get the Liturgy altered. My dear brethren, I beseech you consider with me whether you ought not to resist the alteration of even one jot or tittle of it."†

And yet, notwithstanding this disclaimer, one of the main impulses that lay behind the whole movement represented by the Tracts was an earnest desire to quicken the life of the Church of England in the region of worship. In the *Table of the Tracts, showing their arrangement according to Subjects*, the "Liturgical" section comes first.

The present writer acknowledges but a very limited sympathy with the doctrinal motives and aims of either the earlier or the later Tractarians. But let us, above all things, be fair. With whatever prepossessions one looks back upon it, the ground traversed by the Church of England during the past fifty years cannot be otherwise regarded than as a field sown with mingled tares and wheat. Individuals will differ in judgment as to the proportion in

* A list of the more noticeable Anglican works on Liturgics published during the period named, arranged in the order of their appearance, will serve to illustrate the accuracy of the statement made above, and may also be of value to the general reader for purposes of reference.

1832. *Origines Liturgicæ*, William Palmer. 1833-41. *Tracts for the Times*. 1840. *Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer*, Edward Cardwell. 1843. *The Choral Service of the Churches of England and Ireland*, John Jebb. 1844. *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, William Maskell. 1845. *Pickering's Reprints of the Prayer-Books of 1549, 1552, 1559, 1603, and 1662*. 1846. *Monumenta Ritualia*, William Maskell. 1847. *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, Peter Hall. 1848. *Fragmenta Liturgica*, Peter Hall. 1849. *Book of Common Prayer with Notes legal and historical*, A. J. Stephens. *Manuscript Book of Common Prayer for Ireland*, A. J. Stephens. *Tetralogia Liturgica*, John Mason Neale. 1853. *Two Liturgies of Edward VI.*, Edward Cardwell. 1855. *Principles of Divine Service*, Philip Freeman. *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, F. Proctor. 1858. *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, T. Lathbury.

which these two products of a common soil have co-existed, but even those who have most stoutly opposed themselves to the Oxford movement, as a whole, are fain to credit it with, at least, this one good result, the rescue of the usages of worship from slovenliness and torpor, and the establishment of a better standard of what is seemly, reverent and beautiful in the public service of Almighty God. Not that there have not been, even in this respect, grave errors in the direction of excess; the statement ventured is simply this, that, up to a certain point, all Churchmen agree in admitting a genuine and wholesome improvement in the popular estimate of what public worship, as such, ought to be. An immense amount of devout study has been given, during the period mentioned, by many able men to liturgical subjects, and it would be strange indeed if fifty years of searching criticism had not resulted in the detection of some few points in which formularies originally compiled to meet the needs of the sixteenth century might be better adapted to the requirements of the twentieth. Or to put the same point in another way, has not all this searching into the mines of buried treasure, all this getting together of quarried stone (with possibly a certain surplusage of stubble) been so much labor lost, if there is never to come the recognition of a ripe moment for the Church to avail itself of the results achieved. Are the studious toils of a Palmer, a Maskell, a Neale, a Scudamore and a Bright to go for nothing except in so far as they have been contributory to our fund of ecclesiological lore? If so, the contempt often expressed

1859. *Directorium Anglicanum*, J. Purchas. 1861. *Ancient Collects*, William Bright. 1865. *Liber Precum Publicarum*, Bright and Medd. 1865. *The Priest's Prayer-Book*. 1865. *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, R. P. Blakeney. 1866. *The Prayer-Book Interleaved*, Campion and Beaumont. 1866. *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, J. H. Blunt. 1870. *The Liturgy of the Church of Sarum*, Translated, Charles Walker. 1870. *The First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. with the Ordinal*, Walton and Medd. 1872. *Psalms and Litanies*, Rowland Williams. 1872. *Notitia Eucharistica*, W. E. Scudamore. 1875-80. *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, Smith and Cheetham. 1876. *First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. compared with the successive Revisions*, James Parker. 1877. *Introduction to the History of the Successive Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, James Parker. 1878. *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, C. E. Hammond. 1880. *The Convocation Prayer-Book*.

† Tract No. 3. Thoughts respectfully addressed to the Clergy on alterations in the Liturgy.

for ritual and liturgical studies by students busy with other lines of research would seem to be not wholly undeserved.

A good opportunity is now before the Church to give answer as to whether this form of investigation is or is not anything better than a species of sacred antiquarianism. Liturgiology as an aspirant for recognition among the useful sciences may be said at the present moment to be waiting for the verdict. To be sure it can be asserted for liturgiology that to those who love it it is a study that proves itself, like poetry, "its own exceeding great reward." It is not worth while to dispute this point. Liturgiology pursued for its own sake may not be the loftiest of studies, but this, at least, can be said for it that it is a not less respectable object of pursuit than many another specialty the devotees of which look down upon the liturgiologist with self-complacent scorn as a mere chiffonier. The forms which Christian worship has taken on in successive generations and among peoples of various blood are certainly as well worthy of analysis and classification, as are the *flora* and *fauna* of Patagonia or New Zealand. But while the Patagonian naturalist secures recognition and is decorated, every jaunty man of letters feels at liberty to scoff at the liturgiologist as a laborious trifler.

Moreover, remembering that in favorite studies, as in crops, there rules a principle of rotation, fashion affecting even staid divines with its subtle influence, we may look to see presently a decline of interest in this particular department of enquiry. Especially may serious men be expected to turn their attention in other directions, should it be found that a *Non possumus* awaits every effort to make the fruits of their labor available for the nourishment of the Church's daily life. So then, instead of deferring action until liturgical knowledge shall have become more widely spread, and available liturgical material more abundant, we shall, if we are wise, perceive that only by moving promptly will it be possible in this case, to take the tide at the full. Never again will opportunity be more ripe.

Another evidence of timeliness is supplied by the present pacific condition of the Church. Previous movements towards liturgical revision have been of a more or less partisan and acrimonious temper. Now for the first time we seem to be taking up this subject without the expression of a fear from any quarter that if changes are made this or that party will get the advantage of some other.

The peculiar conditions that ensure this unwonted truce of God are not likely to last forever, nor is it perhaps wholly desirable that they should do so; what is desirable, and very desirable, is that we should avail ourselves of the lull to accomplish certain changes for the better, which in ordinary times the prevalent heat of friction makes impossible. The Joint Committee of Twenty-one is confidently believed to contain within itself every shade of color known to belong to the Anglican spectrum; if white light should be found to emerge, three years hence, as a result of the Committee's labors, it will be said, and truly, that never before in our history could such a blending of the rays possibly have taken place.

Still another consideration properly included under the general head of timeliness is said to have been urged with much force in the House of Bishops when the "enrichment" resolution was under discussion.

Up to the present time the Episcopal Church of this country has stood easily at the head in the matter of providing for the people a dignified and beautiful order of divine service. In fact, there has been, until lately, no one to compete. But all this is changing. Ours are no longer the only congregations in which common prayer is to be found. It is true that thus far the attempts at imitation have been rather grotesque than formidable, but such, until recently, have also been, in the judgment of foreign critics, all of our American endeavors after art. We are to consider what apt learners our quick-witted countrymen have shown themselves to be, in so much that even Christmas Day once the *bête noire* of Puritan legislators has come to be accounted almost a national festival, and we shall be convinced that our primacy in the field of liturgics is not an absolutely assured position. This argument is open to the criticism that it seems to lower and cheapen the whole subject by representing Anglican religion in a mendicant attitude bidding for the favor of the great American public, and vexed that others, fellow-suppliants, have stolen a good formula of appeal. Nevertheless there is a certain amount of reasonableness in this way of putting the thing. Certainly with those who reckon the liturgical mode of worship among the notes of the Church, the argument is one that ought to have marked influence; while with those who, not so persuaded, nevertheless view with pleased interest the general spread of a liturgical taste among the people of this country, seeing

in it a token of better things to come, a harbinger of larger agreements than we have yet attained to, and of an approaching "consolation of Israel" once not thought possible,—even with such the argument ought not to be wholly powerless.*

The fact that the Convocations of Canterbury and York have taken in hand and carried through a revision of the rubrics of the Prayer-Book will seem to those who hold that our Church ought to advance *pari passu* with the Church of England, and no faster, another evidence of the timeliness of the American movement. Under the title of *The Convocation Prayer-Book*, there has lately appeared in England an edition of the Prayer-Book so printed as to show how the book would read were the recommendations of York and Canterbury to go into effect. It is true that the consent of Parliament must be secured before the altered rubrics can have the force of law; but whatever may come of the rubrics recommended, the existence of the book containing them is evidence enough of a widespread conviction among the English Clergy that change is needed.

Indeed never has this point been more powerfully put in the fewest possible words than by the brilliant, and no less logical than brilliant Bishop of Peterborough in a recent speech in the Upper House of Convocation.† "If the Church of England wants absolute peace, she should have definite rubrics."

It is true he goes on to say that in his judgment the dangers of carrying the question of rubrical revision into Parliament are greater than the evil of letting it alone, but it is to be remembered that we in this country are hampered with no Parliamentary entanglements and are free to

* One of the most curious illustrations of the spread of Anglican ideas about worship now in progress is to be found in the upspringing in the very bosom of Scottish Presbyterianism of a CHURCH SERVICE SOCIETY. Two of the publications of this Society have lately fallen in the present writer's way. They bear the imprint of Wm. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, and are entitled respectively *A Book of Common Order*, and *Home Prayer*. With questionable good taste the compilers have given to the former work a Greek and to the latter a Latin sub-title (*Εὐχολογιον* and *Suspiria Domestica*). Both books have many admirable points, although, in view of the facts of history, there is a ludicrous side to this attempt to commend English viands to northern palates under a thin garniture of Scottish herbs which probably has not wholly escaped the notice of the compilers themselves.

† See *The Guardian* (London) Feb. 9th, 1881.

do of our own motion, and in a quiet, orderly way, that which the Church of England can only do at the risk of something very like revolution.

But this matter of the rubrics and their susceptibility of improvement will come up later on. It seemed proper to refer to it, if no more, under the head of timeliness. If nothing else in the way of change be opportune at the present moment, it is an easy task to show that the rubrics, as they stand, cry aloud for a revision.

IV.

OBSTACLES AND DIFFICULTIES.

The obstacles to be encountered by any Committee undertaking so to carry forward a review of the Prayer-Book that revision may eventually result, are of two sorts; there are the inherent difficulties of the work itself, such, for instance, as that of matching the literary style of the sixteenth century writers, and there is the wholesome dread of a change for the worse which is sure to assert itself in many quarters the moment definite propositions shall have reached a point at which the "yeas and nays" are likely to be called.

Beginning then with the inherent difficulties, and taking them in the inverse order of arduousness, we see at once how hard it must be to secure unity and self-consistency in the revision of a book so complicated as the Common Prayer. It is like remodelling an old house. We think it a very easy matter, something that can be done in one's head, but the mistake is discovered when the new door designed to give symmetry to this room is found to have spoiled the looks of that, when the enlargement of the library turns out to have overtaxed the heating energy of the fire-place, and the ingenious staircase, instead of ending where it was expected to end, brings up against an intractable brick wall. Just such perils as these will beset anybody who ventures to disturb the adjustments of "the Prayer-Book as it is" and to introduce desirable additions. But domestic architecture is not given up on account of the patient carefulness the practice of it demands, neither need Liturgical Revision be despaired of because it requires of the men who undertake it a like wisdom in looking before and after.

The really formidable barrier to revision, so far as what have been called the "inherent difficulties" are concerned, is reached when we touch style. How to handle without

harming the sentences in which English religion phrased itself when English language was fresher and more fluent than it can ever be again is a serious question. The hands that seek to "enrich" may well be cautioned to take heed lest they despoil. It is to be remembered, however, in the way of reassurance that the alterations most likely to find favor with the reviewers are such as will enrich by restoring lost excellencies, rather than by introducing forms fashioned on a modern anvil.

The most sensitive critic could not, on the score of taste, find fault with the replacement in the Evening Prayer of the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis*, nor of bringing back a few of the Versicles that in the English book follow the Lord's Prayer, nor yet of our being allowed to say "Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord," rather than "O Lord, our Heavenly Father, by whose Almighty power we have been preserved this day." Objections to these alterations may be readily imagined, but it would be necessary to base them on other grounds than those of literary fastidiousness. In the case of enrichments like these no one could raise the cry that the faultless English of the Prayer-Book had been marred.

But what shall be said of the composition of entirely new services and offices if it should be judged expedient to give admission to any such? How can we be sure that such modern additions to the edifice would be sufficiently in keeping with the general tone of the elder architecture? It might be held to be an adequate answer to these questions to reply that if the living Church cannot now trust herself to speak out through her formularies in her natural voice as she did venture to do in the seventeenth century and the eighteenth, it must be that she has fallen into that stage of decrepitude where the natural voice is uncertain.

But, really, what ought to be said is this,—that if the same canons of style that ruled the sixteenth century writers are studied and obeyed, there is no reason in the world why a result equally satisfactory with the one then attained should not be reached now. There is nothing supernatural about the English of the Prayer-Book. Cranmer and his associates were not inspired. The prose style of the nineteenth century may not be as good as that of the sixteenth, but, at its best, it is vastly superior to eighteenth century style, and of this last there are already no inconsiderable specimens in the American Book

of Common Prayer. The Office for the Visitation of Prisoners, for example, is so redolent of the times of the Georges, when it was composed, that it might be appropriately enough interleaved with prints out of Hogarth. A bit of Palladian architecture in a Gothic church is not more easily recognized. Many worse things might happen to the Prayer-Book than that the nineteenth century should leave its impress upon the pages.

In fact, it is just as possible, if men will only think so, to use our language with effect for any good purpose to-day as it was three hundred years ago. All that is necessary is a willingness to submit to the same restrictions, and those mostly moral, that controlled the old writers; and our work, though not identical with theirs, will have the proper similarity. True, a modern author may not be able to reproduce, without a palpable betrayal of affectation and mannerism, the precise characteristics of a by-gone style. Chattertons are not numerous. It is easier to secure for the brass andirons and mahogany dining chairs of our own manufacture the look of those that belonged to our grandfathers than it is to catch the tones of voices long dead; and just as good judgment dictates the wisdom of repeating the honest and thorough workmanship of the old cabinet-makers in place of slavishly imitating their patterns, so it will be well if the compilers of devotional forms for modern use seek to say what they have to say with sixteenth century simplicity rather than in sixteenth century speech. In letters, as in conduct, the supreme charm of style is the absence of self-consciousness. "Say in plain words the thing you mean, and say it as if you meant it," is good advice to any seeker after rhetorical excellence, be he young or old. The Reformers, that is to say, the men who Englished the Prayer-Book, in seeking to meet the devotional needs of the people of their own time do not seem to have been at pains to tie themselves to the diction of a previous generation. They dared to "call a spade a spade" whenever and wherever the tool came into use, and they have their reward in the permanence of their work. Sweetnesses and prettinesses they banished altogether. Indeed, in those days it seems not to have occurred to people that such things had anything to do with religion. It was not that they did not know how to talk in the sweet way,—never has sentimentalism been more rife in general literature than then, but they would not talk in that way, the stern traditions of Holy

Church throughout all the world forbade. Religion, was a most serious thing to their minds, and they would speak of it most seriously or not at all.

Never since language began to be used have severity and tenderness been more marvellously blended than in the older portions of the English Prayer-Book.

This effect is largely due to an almost entire abstention on the part of the writers from figurative language, or at least from all imagery that is not readily recognized as Scriptural. Bread and beef are what men demand for a steady diet. Sweetmeats are well enough now and then, but only now and then.

It is the failure to observe this plain canon of style that has made shipwreck of many an attempt to construct liturgies *de novo*. Ambitious framers of forms of worship seem almost invariably to forget that there may be such a thing as a too exquisite prayer, an altogether too "eloquent address to the throne of grace." The longest and fullest supplicatory portion of the Prayer-Book, the Litany, does not contain, from the first sentence to the last,* one single figurative expression, it is literally plain English from beginning to end; but could language be framed more intense, more satisfying, more likely to endure?

Scriptural metaphor, whether because it comes to us with the stamp of authority or on account of some subtle intrinsic excellence, it may be difficult to say, does not pall upon the taste. And yet even this is used sparingly in the Prayer-Book, some of the most striking exceptions to the general rule being afforded by the collects for the first and third Sundays in Advent, the collects for the Epiphany and Easter Even, and the opening prayer in the Baptismal Office. All these are instances of strictly Scriptural metaphor, and moreover it is to be kept in mind that they are designed for occasional, not constant use. In the orders for daily Morning, and Evening Prayer, the "lost sheep" of the General Confession and the "dew" of God's blessing in the Collect for Clergy and People are almost the sole, if not the sole cases of evident metaphor, and these again are Scriptural. When in Jeremy Taylor's prayer, introduced by the American revisers into the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, we come upon the comparison of human life to a "vale of misery" we feel that somehow we have struck a

* Unless "finally to beat down Satan under our feet," be reckoned an exception.

new current in the atmosphere ; for the moment. it is the rhetorician who speaks and no longer the earnest seeker after God.

Besides this freedom from figures of speech, we notice in the style of Prayer-Book English a careful avoidance of whatever looks like a metaphysical abstraction. The aim is ever to present God and divine things as realities rather than as mere concepts or notions of the mind. So far as the writer remembers, not a single prayer in the whole book begins with that formula so dear to the makers of extemporary forms of devotion, "O Thou." On the contrary the approach to the Divine Majesty is almost always made with a reference to some attribute or characteristic that links Deity to man and man's affairs; it is "O God, the Protector of all that trust in thee," or "Almighty and everlasting God who of thy tender love towards mankind," or "Lord of all power and might, who art the author and giver of all good things."

Cardinal Newman in one of his theological works written before his departure from the Church of England, has a powerful passage bearing upon this point. He is criticising the evangelicals for their one-sided way of setting forth what it must mean to "preach the Gospel." No less a person than Legh Richmond is the object of his strictures.

"A remarkable contrast between our Church's and this false view of religion," he says, "is afforded in the respective modes of treating a death bed in the Visitation of the sick, and a popular modern work, the Dairyman's Daughter. The latter runs thus: My dear friend, do you not *FEEL that you are supported?* The Lord deals very gently with me, she replied. Are not His promises *very precious to you?* They are all yea and amen in Christ Jesus. * * * Do you experience any *doubts or temptations* on the subject of your eternal safety? No sir; the Lord deals very gently with me and gives me peace. What are your *views* of the dark valley of death now that you are passing through it? *It is not dark.* Now, if it be said that such questions and answers are not only in their place innocent but natural and beautiful. I answer that this is not the point, but this, viz., they are evidently intended whatever their merits as a pattern of *what deathbed examinations should be.* Such is the Visitation of the Sick in the nineteenth century. Now let us listen to the nervous and stern tone of the sixteenth. In the Prayer-Book the Minister is instructed to say to the person visited,—Forasmuch as after this life

there is an account to be given to the *Righteous Judge*. * * * I require you to examine yourself and your estate both toward God and man. Therefore I shall rehearse to you the *Articles of our Faith*, that you may know whether you do believe as a Christian man should or no. * * * 'Then shall the Minister examine whether he repent him truly of his sins, and be in *charity* with all the world; exhorting him to forgive from the bottom of his heart all persons who have offended him, and if he hath offended any other to *ask their forgiveness*, and where he hath done injury or wrong to any man that he *make amends* to the utmost of his power.' * * * Such is the contrast between the dreamy talk of modern Protestantism, and 'holy fear's stern glow' in the Church Catholic.*

In this striking, though perhaps somewhat unnecessarily harsh way, Newman brings out a point which is unquestionably true, namely, that the language of the Prayer-Book is of the sort which it is just now the fashion to call realistic, that is, a language conversant with great facts rather than with phases of feeling and moods of mind;—which after all is only another way of saying that it is a Book of *Common Prayer* and not a manual for the furtherance of spiritual introspection.

These, then, are the characteristics of the Prayer-Book style; it is simple, straightforward, unmetaphorical, realistic. Seriously it looks almost like a studied insult alike to the scholarship and to the religion of our day, to say that these are excellencies attainable no longer. That revisers venturing upon additions to the Prayer-Book would be bound to set the face as a flint against any slightest approach to sentimentality is true. But why assume that the men do not exist who are capable of such a measure of self-control? Grant that there are whole volumes of devotional matter, original and compiled, which one may ransack without finding a single form that is not either prolix, wishy-washy or superstitious;—it does not follow that if the Prayer-Book is to be enriched, the enrichments must necessarily come from such sources. Moreover it is to be remembered that there is another vice of style to be shunned in liturgical composition quite as carefully as sentimentality, namely, jejuneness. We cannot escape being sentimental simply by being dull. Feeling must not be denied its place in prayer for fear that it

* Lectures on Justification, p. 330.

may not prove itself a duly chastened feeling. There ought to be a heart of fire underneath the calm surface of every formulary of worship. Flame and smoke are out of place; but a liturgy should glow throughout. Coldness, pure and simple, has no place in devotion.

Over and above the intrinsic difficulties in the way of revision growing out of the delicate nature of the work itself, obstacles of a different sort are certain to be encountered. In so large a body of men as the Joint Committee of the two Houses, entire and cordial agreement is almost too much to be expected; and then even, supposing a unanimous report submitted, what is likely to follow? Why this,—if the changes proposed are few, the cry will be raised, It surely is not worth while to alter the Prayer-Book for the sake of so insignificant a gain; whereas if the changes proposed are considerable, the counter cry will be sounded, This is revolution.

Then there is the anxious question, How will it look to the English? What will be the effect on the *Concordat*, if we touch the Prayer-Book? To be sure, the *Concordat* does not seem to weigh very heavily on the shoulders of the other party, as indeed there is no reason why it should. Convocation does not much disturb itself as to the view General Convention is likely to take of its sayings and doings, and even disestablishment might proceed without our being called into consultation. And yet the *Concordat* difficulty will have to be reckoned with; and the dire spectre of a possible disowning of us by our mother the Church of England will have to be laid, before any alterations in the Book of Common Prayer will be accounted by some among us perfectly safe.

But it is scarcely worth while to go on gratuitously suggesting opposition arguments. They will be sure to present themselves unsolicited in due time. For the present it is enough to add that if the movement for liturgical revision has not in it enough toughness of fibre to enable it to survive vigorous attack, it does not deserve success.

V.

DESIDERATA.

Under the head of liturgical enrichment ought to be classed whatever alteration would really serve to enhance the beauty, majesty or fitness of accepted formularies of worship. Excision may, under conceivable circumstances,

be enrichment. James Wyatt undoubtedly imagined that he was improving the English cathedrals when he white-washed their interiors, added composition pinnacles to the west towers of Durham, and re-arranged the ancient monuments of Salisbury; but an important part of the enrichment accomplished by our nineteenth-century restorers has lain simply in the undoing of what Wyatt did.

Again, substitution may be enrichment, as in the case where a wooden spire built upon a stone tower is taken down to be replaced by honest work. It would be an enrichment if in St. George's Chapel, the central shrine of British royalty, the sham insignia now overhanging the stalls of the knights of the garter were to give room to genuine armor. Not merely then by addition but possibly in some instances, by both subtraction and substitution, we may find "the Prayer-Book as it is" open to improvement.

Before, however, entering upon any criticism of the formularies in detail, it is important to draw a distinction between two very different things, namely the structure of a liturgical office and the contents of it. By structure should be understood the skeleton or frame that makes the groundwork of any given office, by contents the actual liturgical material employed in filling out the office to its proper contour.

The offices of the Roman Breviary, for example, continue, for the most part, identical in structure from day to day, the year through; but they vary in contents. For an illustration nearer home, take our own *Order for Daily Morning Prayer*. The structure of it is as follows:—1. Sentences, 2. Exhortation, 3. Confession, 4. Absolution, 5. Lord's Prayer, 6. Versicles, 7. Invitatory Psalm, 8. The Psalms for the day, 9. Lesson, 10. Anthem or Canticle, 11. Lesson, 12. Anthem or Canticle, 13. Creed, 14. Versicles, 15. Collect for the day, 16. Stated Collects and Prayers, 17. Benediction.

Now it is evident that without departing by a hair's breadth from the lines of this framework, an indefinite number of services might by a process of substitution be put together, each one of which would in outward appearance differ widely from every other one. The identical skeleton, that is to say, might be so variously clothed upon that no two of its embodiments would be alike. But is it desirable to run very much after variety of such a sort in a book of prayer designed for common use? Most

assuredly, No. To jeopard the supreme *desideratum* in a people's manual of worship, simplicity: to make it any harder than it now is for the average "stranger in the Church" to find the places, would be on the part of revisionists, an unpardonable blunder.

There are, however, a few points at which the Morning Prayer might advantageously be enriched, and no risk run. It would surely add nothing to the difficulty of finding the places, if for one-half of the present opening sentences there were to be substituted sentences appropriate to special days and seasons of the ecclesiastical year. We should in this way be enabled to give the key-note of the morning's worship at the very outset. Having once departed, as in the case of our first two sentences, from the English precedent of putting only penitential verses of Scripture to this use, there is no reason why we should not carry out still more fully in our selection the principle of appropriateness. The sentences displaced need not be lost, for they might still stand as now, at the opening of the Evening Prayer.

Passing on to the declarations of absolution there is an opportunity to simplify the arrangement by omitting the alternate form borrowed from the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, where only it properly belongs. This, however, is a change likely to be resisted on doctrinal grounds, and need not be urged.

Coming to the *Venite*, we find another opportunity to accentuate the Christian Year. It may be said that the rubric, as it is already written, allows for the substitution of special anthems on the greater festivals and fasts. This is true; but by giving the anthem for Easter a place of honor, while relegating anthems for the other great days to an unnoticed spot between the Selections and the Psalter, the American compilers did practically discriminate in favor of Easter and against the rest. The real needs of the case would be more wisely met, if the permission to omit *Venite* now attached to "the nineteenth day of the month" were to be extended to Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, and special New Testament anthems analagous to the Easter one were to be inserted along with the respective Collects, Epistles and Gospels, for Christmas Day and Whitsunday.

By this change, we should put each of the three great festivals of the year into possession of an invitatory anthem of its own; and we should obviate on the fasting days, by the simple expedient of omission, the futile efforts of

Choir-master and organist to transform *Venite* from a cry of joy into a moan of grief.

This brings us to the Psalter. Here we have an opportunity to correct the palpable blunder by which it has come about that the greatest of the penitential psalms, the fifty-first, has no place assigned it among the proper psalms either for Ash-Wednesday or for Good Friday.* It would also be well to make optional, if not obligatory, the use of "proper psalms" on days other than those already provided with them; *e. g.* Advent Sunday, the Epiphany, Easter Even, Trinity Sunday, and All Saints' Day.† There would be a still larger gain in the direction of "flexibility of use," as well as a great economy of valuable space, if instead of reprinting some thirty of the Psalms of David under the name of Selections, we were to provide for allowing "select" Psalms to be announced by number in the same manner that "proper" Psalms are now announced. Instead of only the ten selections we now have, there might then be made available twenty or thirty groups of Psalms at absolutely no sacrifice of room. It has been objected to this proposal that the same difficulty which now attaches to the finding of the "proper Psalms" on great days would embarrass congregations whenever "select Psalms" were given out; but this is fairly met by the counter consideration that if our people were to be educated by the use of select Psalms into a more facile handling of the Psalter it would be just so much gained for days when the "proper Psalms" must of necessity be found and read. The services, that is to say, would run all the more smoothly on the great days, after congregations had become habituated, on ordinary days, to picking out the Psalms by number.

Another step in the line of simplification, and one which it is in order to mention here, would be the removal from the Morning Prayer of *Gloria in Excelsis*, seeing that it is never, or almost never, sung at the end of the Psalms unless at Evening Prayer. As to the expediency of restoring

*The rationale of this curious lapse is simple. The American revisers, instead of transferring the Communion Office *in toto* to the new book, wisely decided to engraft certain features of it upon the Morning Prayer for Ash-Wednesday. In the process, the fifty-first Psalm, which has a recognized place in the Communion, dropped out, instead of being transferred, as it should have been, to the proper Psalms.

†See the Convocation Prayer-Book.

what has been lost of *Benedictus* after the second lesson, the present writer offers no opinion. There are some who warmly advocate the replacement, and there is, unquestionably, much to be said in favor of it. It is unlikely that any doctrinal motive dictated the abbreviation.

Pausing a moment at the Creeds for the insertion of a better title than "*Or this*" before the confession of Nicæa, we pass to the versicles that follow.

Here again it would be enrichment to restore the words of the English book, although the task of finding an equally melodious equivalent for *O Lord, save the Queen* might not be easy.

Happily the other versicles are such as no civil revolution can make obsolete. It will never be amiss to pray.

Endue thy Ministers with righteousness.

Answer.—*And make thy chosen people joyful.*

These are all the alterations for which the present Morning Prayer considered as a form of Divine Service for Sundays would seem to call. It will be observed that they are far from being of a radical character, that they affect the structure of the office not at all, and touch the contents of it but slightly.

The case is altered when we come to the Order for Evening Prayer. Here there is a demand, not indeed for any structural change, but for very decided enrichment by substitution. The wording of the office is altogether too exact an echo of what has been said only a few hours before in Morning Prayer. It betokens a poverty of resources that does not really exist, when we allow ourselves thus to exhort, confess, absolve, intercede, and give thanks in the very same phrases at three in the afternoon that were on our lips at eleven in the morning.

Doubtless liturgical worship owes a good measure of its charm to the subtle power of repetition; but the principle is one that must be handled and applied with the most delicate tact, or virtue goes out of it. We must distinguish between similarity and sameness. The ordered recurrence of accents is what makes the rhythm of verse; but for all that, there is a difference between poetry and sing-song, just as there is a difference between melody and monotony. Moreover the taste of mankind undergoes change as to the sorts of repetition which it is disposed to tolerate. No modern poet of standing would venture, for instance, to employ identical epithets to the extent that Homer does, making Aurora "rosy-fingered" every time

she appears upon the scene, and Juno as invariably "ox-eyed." People were pleased with it then, they would not be pleased with it now. It is possible in liturgics so to employ the principle of repetition that no wearying sense of sameness will be conveyed, and again it is possible so to mismanage it as to transform worship into something little better than a "slow mechanic exercise." Mere iteration, as such, is barren of spiritual power, witness the endless sayings over of *Kyrie Eleison* in the Oriental service-books, a species of vain repetition which a liturgical writer of high intelligence rightly characterizes as "unmeaning, if not profane."* Now the common popular criticism upon the Evening Prayer of the Church is that it repeats too slavishly the wording of the Morning Prayer. If this is an unjust criticism we ought not to let ourselves be troubled by it. On the other hand, if it is a just criticism, it will be much wiser of us to heed than to stifle the voice that tells us the truth. It might seem to be straining a point, were one to venture to explain the present very noticeable disinclination of churchmen to attend a second service on Sunday, by connecting it with the particular infelicity in question; but that the excuse We have said all this once to-day; why say it again? may possibly have something, even if not much, to do with the staying at home is certainly a fair conjecture.

Without altering at all the structure of the Evening Prayer, it would be perfectly possible so to re-fill or reclothe that formulary as to give it the one thing needful which now it lacks,—freshness. In such a process the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis* would play an important part; as would also certain "ancient collects" of which we have heard much of late. Failing this, the next best thing (and the thing, it may be added, much more likely to be done, considering what a tough resistant is old usage) would be the provision of an alternate and optional form of Evening Prayer, to be used either in lieu of, or as supplementary to the existing office. In the framing of such a *Later Evensong* a larger freedom would be possible than in the refilling of a form the main lines of which were already fixed. Still, the first plan would be better, if only it could be brought within the range of things possible.

Next to Evening Prayer in the order of the Table of Contents comes The Litany. Here there is no call for

* Prayer-Book Interleaved, p. 65,

enrichment,* though increased flexibility of use might be secured for this venerable form of intercessory prayer by prefixing to it the following rubric abridged from a similar one proposed in The Convocation Prayer-Book.

"A General Supplication, to be sung or said on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and on the Rogation Days, after the third collect at Morning or Evening Prayer, or before the Administration of the Holy Communion; or as a separate Service.

NOTE. *The Litany may be omitted altogether on Christmas Day, Easter Day and Whitsunday."*

In connection with the Morning and Evening Service there is another important question that imperatively demands discussion, namely, week-day worship. The movement for "shortened services," so called, has shared the usual fate of all efforts at bettering the life of the Church, in being at the outset of its course widely and seriously misunderstood. The impression has gone abroad, and to-day holds possession of many otherwise well-informed people, that a large and growing party in the Episcopal Church has openly declared itself wearied out with overmuch prayer and praise. Were such indeed the fact, the scandal would be grave; but the real truth about the matter is that the promoters of shortened services, instead of seeking to diminish, are really eager to see multiplied the amount of worship rendered in our Churches. "Shortened services" is a phrase of English not American origin, and

* A curious illustration of the sensitiveness of the Protestant Episcopal mind to anything that can be supposed even remotely to endanger our doctrinal settlement was afforded at the late General Convention, when the House of Deputies was thrown into something very like a panic by a most harmless suggestion with reference to the opening sentences of the Litany. A venerable and thoroughly conservative deputy from South Carolina had ventured to say that it would be doctrinally an improvement, if the tenet of the double procession of the Holy Ghost were to be removed from the third of the invocations, and a devotional improvement if the language of the fourth were to be phrased in words more literally Scriptural and less markedly theological than those at present in use. Eager defenders of the faith instantly leaped to their feet in various parts of the House persuaded that a deadly thrust had been aimed at the doctrine of the Trinity. Never was there a more gratuitous misconception. The real entrenchment of the doctrine of the Trinity, so far as the Litany is concerned, lies in the four opening words of the second and the five opening words of the third of the invocations, and these it had not been proposed to touch. In confirmation of this view of the matter, it is pertinent to instance the *Book of Family Prayers* lately put forth

has won its way here by dint of euphony rather than of fitness. Readjusted services, though a more clumsy, would be a less misdirecting term. In the matter of Sunday worship, the liberty now generally conceded of using separately the Morning Prayer, the Litany and the Holy Communion is all that need be asked. Whether these services, or at least two of them, do not in themselves admit of a certain measure of improvement is a point that has already been considered, but there certainly is no need of shortening them, whatever else it may be thought well to do. When what a Boston worthy once termed "a holy alacrity" is observed, on the part of both minister and singers, even the aggregated services of Morning Prayer, Litany and "Ante-Communion," together with a sermon five-and-twenty minutes long, can easily be brought within the compass of an hour and a half,—a measure of time not unreasonably large to be given to the principal occasion of worship on the Lord's Day. As for the Evening Prayer,—there certainly ought to be no call for the shortening of that on Sundays; for it would be scarcely decent or proper to devote to such a service anything less than the half hour the existing office demands.

What the advocates of shortened services really desire to see furthered is an increase in the frequency of opportunities for worship during the week, their conviction being that if the Church were to authorize brief services for morning and evening use, such as would not occupy much more

by a Committee of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury. This manual provides no less than six different Litanies, all of them opening with addresses to the three Persons of the adorable Trinity, and yet in no one instance is the principle advocated by the deputy from South Carolina unrecognized. Every one of the six Litanies begins with language similar to that which he recommended. [See also in witness of the mediæval use, which partially bears out Mr. McCrady's thought, the ancient Litany reprinted by Maskell from *The Prymer in English*. Mon. Rit. ii, p. 95.] If the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, fondly supposed by us Anglicans to be the very citadel of sound doctrine, be thus tainted with heresy, upon what can we depend?

Polemical considerations aside, probably even the most orthodox would allow that the invocations of the Litany might gain in devotional power, while losing nothing in august majesty, were the third to run,—*O God the Holy Ghost, Sanctifier of the faithful, have mercy upon us miserable sinners.* And the fourth as in Bishop Heber's glorious hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, have mercy upon us miserable sinners.* But all this is doctrinal and plainly *ultra vires*.

time than family prayers ordinarily do, the attendance might be secured of many who, at present, put aside the whole question of going to Church on week-days as impracticable. Supposing it could be proved that such a provision would work to the discouragement of family prayer, it would plainly be wrong to advocate it ; no priesthood is more sacred than that which comes with fatherhood. But we must face the fact that in our modern American life family prayer, like sundry other wholesome habits, has fallen largely into disuse. If the Church can, in any measure, supplement the deficiencies of the household, and help to supply to individuals a blessing they would gladly enjoy at their own homes, if they might ; it is her plain duty to do so. Moreover, many a Minister who single-handed cannot now prudently undertake a daily service, as that is commonly understood, would acknowledge himself equal to the less extended requirement.

Not a few careful and friendly observers of the practical working of Anglican religion have been reluctantly led to consider the daily service, as an institution, only meagrely successful. Looking at the matter historically we find no reason to wonder at such a conclusion.

Our existing usage (or more correctly, perhaps, *non-user*), dates from the Reformation period. The English Church and nation of that day had grown up familiar with the spectacle of a very large body of clerics, secular and regular, whose daily occupation may be said to have been the pursuit of religion.* The religion pursued consisted chiefly in the saying of prayers, and very thoroughly, so far at least as the consumption of time was concerned, were the prayers said. What more natural than that, under such circumstances, and with such associations, the compilers of a common Prayer-Book for the people should have failed to see any good reason for discriminating between the amount of service proper to the Lord's Day and the amount that might be reasonably expected on other days ? Theoretically they were right, all time belongs to God and He is as appropriately worshipped on Tuesdays and Thursdays as on Sundays. And yet as a result of their making no such discrimination, we have the daily service on our hands,—a comparative, even if not an utter failure. We may lament the fact, but a fact it is, that in spite of all its

* A very natural explanation, by the way, of the fact, often noticed, that there is no petition in the Litany for an increase of the ministry.

improved appliances for securing leisure, the world is busier than ever it was ; and there will always be those who will insist that the command to labor on six days is as imperative as the injunction to rest upon the seventh. As a consequence of all this accelerated business, and of the diminution in the number of persons officially set apart for prayer, the unabridged service of the Church fails to command a week-day attendance. We have no "clerks" nowadays to fill the choir. The only clerks known to modern times are busy at their desks.

It may be urged in reply to this, that the practical working of the daily service ought to be kept a secondary consideration, and that its main purpose is symbolical, or representative; the priest kneeling in his place, day by day, as a witness that the people, though unable personally to be present, do, in heart and mind, approve of a daily morning and evening sacrifice of prayer. This conception of the daily service as a vicarious thing has a certain mystical beauty about it, but if it is to be adopted as the Church's own let us, at least, clear ourselves of inconsistency by striking out the word "common" from before the word "prayer" in characterizing our book.

What is really needed for daily use in our parishes is a short form of worship specially framed for the purpose. If they could be employed without offence to the Protestant ear (and they are good English-Reformation words) *Week-Day Matins* and *Week-Day Evensong* would not be ill chosen names for such services. The frame-work of these Lesser Orders for Morning and Evening Prayer, as they might also be called were the other titles found obnoxious, ought to be modelled upon the lines of the existing daily offices, though with a careful avoidance of identity in contents. There should be, for instance, as unvarying elements, the reading of the lessons for the day, the use of the collect for the day, and the saying or singing of the psalms for the day. Another constant would be the Lord's Prayer; but aside from these the *Lesser Order* need have nothing in common with the Order as we have it now. There might be, for example, after the manner of the old service books, an invitatory opening with versicles and responses, or if the present mode of opening by sentences were preferred, specially chosen sentences, different from those with which the Sunday worship has made us familiar could be employed. Moreover, the anthems or canticles and the prayers, with the exception of the two

just mentioned, ought also to be distinctive, and, in the technical sense of the word, *proper* to the week day use.

Again, it would serve very powerfully and appropriately to emphasize the pivot points in the ritual year if this same principle were to be applied to Saints' days, and we were to have special *Holy-day Matins* and *Holy-day Evensong*, there still being required, on the greater festivals and fasts, the normal Morning and Evening Prayer proper to the Lord's Day.*

The argument in favor of thus specializing the services for week-days and holy days, in preference to following the only method heretofore thought possible, namely, that of shortening the Lord's Day Order, rests on two grounds. In the first place permissions to skip and omit are of themselves objectionable in a book of devotions. They have an uncomely look. Our American Common Prayer boasts too many disfigurements of this sort already.

Such a rubric as *The Minister may, at his discretion, omit all that follows to etc.*, puts one in mind of the finger-post pointing out a short cut to weary travellers. It is inopportune thus to hint at exhaustion as the probable concomitant of worship. That each form should have an integrity of its own, should as "a separate whole" be either said complete, or left unsaid, is better liturgical philosophy than any "shortened services act" can show.

In the second place, a certain amount of variety would be secured by the proposed method which under the existing system we miss. There is, of course, such a danger as that of providing too much liturgical variety. Amateur makers of Prayer-Books almost invariably fall into this slough. Hymn books, as is well known, often destroy their own usefulness by including too many hymns; and Prayer-Books may do the same by having too many prayers.†

* Here, *i. e.* in connection with Saints' Day services would be an admirable opportunity for the introduction into liturgical use of the Beatitudes. What could possibly be more appropriate? And yet these much loved words of Christ have seldom been given the place in worship they deserve.

They do find recognition as an antiphon in the *Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*. To reassert a usage associated in the history of liturgics with the name of this Father of the Church and with his name only, would be to pay him better honor than we now show by three times inserting in our Prayer-Book the collect conjecturally his,—a thing the Golden-mouthed himself, when in the flesh, would not have dreamed of doing. "Once," he would have said, "is enough."

† *The Priest's Prayer-Book* has 688 (!) mostly juiceless,

To transgress in the compiling of formularies the line of average memory, to provide more material than the mind of an habitual worshipper is likely to assimilate is to misread human nature. But here, as elsewhere, there is a just mean. Cranmer and his colleagues in the work of revision jumped at one bound from a scheme which provided a distinctive set of services for every day in the year to a scheme that assigned one stereotyped form to all days.

Now nothing could be more unwise than any attempt to restore the methods of the Breviary, with its complicated and artificial forms of devotion; but so far to imitate the Breviary as to provide within limits for a recognition of man's innate love of change would be wisdom. By having a distinctive service for week-days, and a distinctive service for holy days, we might add just that little increment to the Church's power of traction that in many instances would avail to change "I cannot go to church this morning" into "I cannot stay away."

It will be urged as a counter-argument to these considerations that the thing is impossible, that such a measure of enrichment is entirely in excess of anything the Church has expressed a wish to have, and that for reviewers to propose a plan so sweeping would be suicide. Doubtless this might be a sufficient answer to anybody who imagined that by a bare majority vote of two successive General Conventions new formularies of daily worship could be forced upon the Church. But suppose such formularies were to be made *optional*; suppose there were to be given to Parishes the choice between these three things viz.: (a) the normal Morning Prayer; (b) a shortened form of the normal Morning Prayer; and (c) such a special order as has been sketched,—what then? Would the Church's liberty be impaired? On the contrary, would not the borders of that liberty have been most wisely and safely widened by the steady hand of law?

This is perhaps the right point at which to call attention to the present state of the "shortened services" controversy, for wearisome as the story has become by frequent repetition, the *nexus* between it and the subject in hand is too important to be left out of sight.

In the General Convention of 1877, where the topic under its American aspects was for the first time thoroughly discussed, the two Houses came to a dead lock. The deputies on the one hand, almost to a man, voted

in favor of giving the desired relief by *rubric*, thus postponing, for three years time, the fruition of their wish ; while the Bishops with an unanimity understood to have been equally striking insisted that a simple *canon*, such as could be passed at once, would suffice. And so the subject dropped.

At the late Convention of 1880 an eirenicon was discovered. The quick eye of one of the legal members of the House of Deputies detected on the fourth page of the Prayer-Book, just opposite the Preface, a loop-hole of escape, to wit, *The Ratification of the Book of Common Prayer*. Here was the very *tertium quid* whereby the common wish of both parties to the dispute might be effected without injury to the sensibilities of either.

The *Ratification* certainly did not look like a Canon, neither could anybody with his eyes open call it a rubric,—why not amend that, and say no more about it? The suggestion prevailed, and by vote of both Houses, the following extraordinary document is hereafter to stand (the next General Convention consenting) in the very forefront of the Prayer-Book :—

“ *The Ratification of the Book of Common Prayer. By the Bishops, the Clergy, and the Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in General Convention assembled.*

“ The General Convention of the Church having heretofore, to wit : on the sixteenth day of October in the year A. D. 1789, set forth a *Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church*, and thereby established the said Book and declared it to be the Liturgy of said Church, and required that it be received as such by all the members of the same and be in use from and after the first day of October, in the year of our Lord 1790 ; the same book is hereby ratified and confirmed, and ordered to be the use of this Church from this time forth.

“ But note, however, that on days other than Sundays, Christmas Day, the Epiphany, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday and Ascension Day, it shall suffice if the Minister begins Morning or Evening Prayer at the General Confession or the Lord's Prayer preceded by one or more of the sentences appointed at the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer, and end after the Collect for Grace, or the Collect for Aid against Perils, with 2 Cor. xiii. 14, using so much of the Lessons appointed for the day and so much of the Psalter as he shall judge to be for edification.

"And note also that on any day when Morning and Evening Prayer shall have been duly said or are to be said, and on days other than those first afore mentioned, it shall suffice when need may require, if a sermon or Lecture be preceded by at least the Lord's Prayer and one or more Collects found in this book, provided that no prayers not set forth in said book, or otherwise authorized by this Church, shall be used before or after such sermon or lecture.*

"And note further also that on any day the Morning Prayer, the Litany or the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, may be used as a separate and independent service, provided that no one of these services shall be disused habitually."

It may seem harsh to characterize this act as the mutilation of a monument; but really it does seem to be little else. The old Ratification of 1789 is an historic landmark; it is the sign-manual of the Church of White's and Seabury's day, and ought never to be disturbed or tampered with while the Prayer-Book stands. The year 1889 might very properly see a supplemental Ratification written under it; and testifying to the fact of Revision; but to

*In connection with this clause there sprang up an animated and interesting debate in the House of Deputies as to the wisdom of thus seeming to cut off every opportunity for extemporary prayer in our public services. Up to this time, it was alleged, a liberty had existed of using *after* sermon, if the preacher were disposed to do so, the "free" prayer which *before* sermon it was confessedly not permitted him to have,—why thus cut off peremptorily an ancient privilege, why thus sharply annul a traditional if not a chartered right?

At first sight this distinction between before and after sermon looks both arbitrary and artificial, but when examined there is found to be a reason in it. The sermon, especially in the case of emotional preachers, is a sort of bridge of transition from what we may call the liturgical to the spontaneous mood of mind, and if the speaker has carried his listeners with him they are across the bridge at the same moment with himself. The thing that would have been incongruous before, becomes natural after the Minister has been for some time speaking less in his priestly than in his personal character.

The notion that the points at issue between the advocates of liturgical and the advocates of extemporaneous worship can be settled by a promiscuous jumbling together of the two modes, is a fond conceit, as the Reformed Episcopalians will doubtless allow when they have time enough to make full trial of the following rubrics in their Prayer-Books:

Then shall the Minister say the Collects and Prayers following in whole or in part, or others at his discretion.

write into that venerable text special directions as to what may be done on days other than Ash-Wednesday, and what must not be done without II Cor. xiii., 14, is very much as if the City Government of Cambridge should cause to be cut upon the stone under the Washington elm which now records the fact that there the commander of the American armies first drew his sword, divers and sundry additional items of information, such as the distance to Watertown, the shortest path across the common, etc. etc.

Why the Convention after having entrusted to a Joint Committee, by a decisive vote, the task of devising means for securing for the Prayer-Book "increased flexibility of use," should have thought it necessary subsequently to take up with this compromise of a compromise (for such the proposal to amend the Ratification really is) it is difficult to say. Perhaps it was with the determination to have, at any rate, something to fall back upon in case the larger and more comprehensive measure should come to naught.

The *rubric* is confessedly the proper place for directions as to how to use the services, and, but for the very nat-

Here may be used any of the occasional Prayers, or extemporaneous Prayer.

This is bad philosophy. It need not be said that such directions are undevotional,—for doubtless they were piously meant; but it must be said that they are inartistic (if the word may be allowed) at variance with the fitness of things and counter to the instinct of purity. Formality and informality are two things that cannot be mingled to advantage. There is place and time for each. The secret of the power of liturgical worship is wrapped up with the principle of order. A certain majesty lies in the movement which is without break. On the other hand the charm of extemporaneous devotion, and it is sometimes a very real charm, is traceable to our natural interest in whatever is irregular, fresh and spontaneous.

To suppose that we can secure at any given time the good effects of both methods by some trick of combination is an error,—as well attempt to arrange on the same plot of ground a French and an English garden. If indeed Christian people could bring themselves to acknowledge frankly the legitimacy of both methods and arrange amicably for their separate use, a great step forward in the direction of Church unity would have been achieved; but for a catholicity so catholic as this, public opinion is not yet ripe and perhaps may not be ripe for centuries to come. Those who believe in the excellency of liturgies, while not believing in them as *jure divino*, would be well content in such a case to wait the working of the principle of the survival of the fittest.

ural and defensible objection on the part of some to touching the Prayer-Book at all, there never would have been any question about it.* This objection having been at last waived, a straight path is now open to the end desired, and it ought to be followed even at the cost of three years more of delay.

Returning to the general subject, and still following the order of the Table of Contents, we come to *Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several Occasions*.

Here it would be well to note more intelligibly than is done by the present rubric the proper places for the introduction of the Prayers and the Thanksgivings, providing for the use of the former before, and of the latter after the General Thanksgiving.

As to the deficiencies in this department let the late Dr. Muhlenberg speak.

"The Prayer-Book," he says, "is not undervalued as to its treasures in asserting its wants. The latter cannot be denied. Witness the meagre amount of New Testament prayer and praise for the round of festivals and fasts; the absence of any forms suited to the peculiar circumstances of our own Church and country and to the times we live in; or for our benevolent and educational institutions. There are no prayers for the increase of Ministers, for Missions, or Missionaries, for the Christian teaching of the young; for sponsors on occasions of Baptism; for persons setting out on long journeys by land, quite as perilous as voyages by sea; for the sick desiring the prayers of the Church when there is no prospect of or desire for recovery; for the bereaved at funerals, and many other occasions for

* The able and fair-minded jurist who first hit upon this ingenious scheme for patching the Ratification has lately, with characteristic frankness, said substantially this under his own signature.

"The proper place for the amendment," he writes, "is at the end of the first rubric preceding the sentences of Scripture for both Morning and Evening Prayer, after the word Scripture, as every one can see by looking." He adds "This, however, is only a question of form, and ought not to interfere with the adoption of the amendment at the next Convention. It is to be hoped that the resolution for (Committee on ?) enrichment, so called, will present a variety of additions out of which an acceptable selection can be made; and when they are finally carried that the Book of Common Prayer will be not only the standard book, but a sealed book, so to speak, for as many generations as have passed since the present book was adopted." Letter of the Hon. J. B. Howe, of Indiana, in *The Churchman* for Jan. 29, 1881.

which there might as well be provision as for those few for which we already have the occasional prayers."*

After the *Prayers and Thanksgivings* come *The Collects, Epistles and Gospels*. Here again there is some room for enrichment. Distinctive collects for the first four days of Holy Week, for Monday and Tuesday in Easter Week and for Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun Week would add very materially to our liturgical wealth, while there would seem to be no reason whatever why they should not be had. It would also serve to enhance the symmetry of the Christian Year if the old feast of the Transfiguration † (August 6) were to be restored to its place among the recognized holy days of the Church and given its proper collect, epistle and gospel.

There are some liturgists who desire the restoration of the introits of the first book of Edward the VI. The introit (so-called from being the Psalm sung when the priest goes within the altar rails) has been in modern usage replaced by a metrical hymn. A sufficient reason for not printing the introit for each day in full, just before the collect, as was the mode in Edward's book is that to do so would involve a costly sacrifice of room. A compromise course would be to insert between the title of each Sunday or Holy day and the collect proper to it, a simple numerical reference stating whereabouts in the Psalter the introit for the day is to be found, and adding perhaps the Latin catch-words. Any attempt to make the use of the introit obligatory in our times would meet with deserved failure; the metrical hymn has gained too firm a hold upon the affections of the Church at large ever to be willingly surrendered.

Coming, next, to the orders for the administration of the two sacraments, we find ourselves on delicate ground, where serious change of any sort is out of the question. Per-

* See page 578 of *Evangelical Catholic Papers*. A collection of Essays, Letters and Tractates from Writings of Rev. Wm. Augustus Muhlenberg, D.D., during the last forty years.

The failure of this devout and venerated man to secure certain much desired liturgical improvements (although it yet remains to be seen whether the failure has been total) was perhaps due to a certain vagueness inherent in his plans of reform. A clear vision of the very thing desired seems to have been lacking, or at least the gift of imparting it to others. But even as no man has deserved better of the American Episcopal Church than he, so it is no more than right that his deeply cherished wishes should be had in careful remembrance.

† Now a "black-letter day" in the English Calendar.

mission, under certain circumstances, still further to abbreviate the Office of the Communion of the Sick might, however, be sought without giving reasonable cause of alarm to any, and general consent might perhaps also be had for a provision with respect to the Exhortation "Dearly beloved in the Lord" that in "Churches where there is frequent Communion it shall suffice to read the Exhortation above written once in a month on the Lord's Day."*

There are three liturgical features of the Scottish Communion Office which some have thought might be advantageously transferred to our own service. They are (a) the inserting after Christ's summary of the law a response, *Lord, have mercy upon us and write these thy laws in our hearts we beseech thee*; (b) the repeating by the people, after the reading of the Gospel, of a formula of thanks corresponding to the *Glory be to thee O Lord* that precedes it; and (c) the saying or singing of an Offertory sentence at the presentation of the alms. Upon these suggested enrichments the present writer offers no opinion.

In the Order of Confirmation a substitution for the present preface† of a responsive opening, in which the Bishop should charge the Minister to present none but such as he has found by personal enquiry, "apt and meet" for the reception of the rite would be a marked improvement.

The remaining Occasional Offices would seem to demand no change either in structure or contents, although in some, perhaps in all of them, additional rubrics would be helpful to worshippers.

Some addition to the number of Occasional Offices would be a real gain. We need, for instance, a short Office for the Burial of Infants and Young Children; a Day-break Office for Great Festivals; an Office for Mid-day Prayer; an Office of Prayer in behalf of Missions and Missionaries; an Office for the Setting apart of a Layman as a Reader, or as a Missionary; a Form of Prayer at the Laying of a Corner-Stone; and possibly some others. It is evident that these new formularies might give opportunity for the introduction of hitherto unused collects, anthems and benedictions of a sort that would greatly enhance the general usefulness of the Prayer-Book.

This completes the survey of the field of "liturgical enrichment." A full discussion of the allied topic, "flexibility

* The Convocation Prayer-Book, *in loc.*

† Originally only an explanatory rubric. See Procter, p. 397.

of use," would involve the examination in detail of all the rubrics of the Prayer-Book, and for this there is no room. It is enough to say that unless the rubrics, the hinges and joints of a service book are kept well oiled, much creaking is a necessary result. There are moments in our public worship where congregations almost invariably betray an awkward embarrassment, simply because there is nothing to tell them whether they are expected to stand or to sit or to kneel. It is easy to sneer at such points as trifles and to make sport of those who call attention to them ; but if it is worth our while to have ritual worship at all it is also worth our while to make the directions as to how people are to behave adequate, explicit, plain. A lofty contempt for detail is not the token of good administration either in Church or State. To the list of defective rubrics, add those that are confessedly obsolete and such as are palpably contradictory and we have a bill of particulars that would amply justify a rubrical revision of the Prayer-Book even if nothing more were to be attempted.

There is another reason. Far more rapidly than many people imagine, we are drifting away from the position of a Church that worships by liturgy to that of a Church worshipping by directory. The multiplicity of "uses" that vexed the Anglican Reformers is in our day multiplied fourfold. To those who honestly consider a directory a better thing than a liturgy this process of relaxation is most welcome, but for others who hold that, until the binding clauses of a Book of Common Prayer have been formally rescinded, they ought to be observed, the spectacle is the reverse of edifying. They would much prefer seeing the channels of liberty opened at the touch of law, and this is one of their chief reasons for advocating revision.

Two questions remain untouched, both of them of great practical importance. Could the Prayer-Book be enriched to the extent suggested in this paper without a serious and most undesirable increase in its bulk as a volume ?

Even supposing this were possible, is it at all likely that the Church could be persuaded to accept the amended book ?

Unless the first of these two eminently proper questions can be met, there is, or ought to be an end to all talk about revision. The advantage to a Church of being able to keep all its authoritative formularies of worship within the compass of a single volume is inestimable. Even the

present enforced severance of the Hymnal from the Prayer-Book is a misfortune.*

Those were good days when "Bible and Prayer-Book" was the Churchman's all sufficient formula, so far as volumes were concerned.

Rome boasts a much larger ritual variety than ours, but she secures it by multiplying books. The Missal is in one volume, the Breviary in four, the Pontifical, the Ritual and the Ceremonial in one each, making eight in all.† This is an evil, and one from which we Anglicans have had a happy escape. It was evidently with a great groan of relief that the Church of England shook herself free from the whole host of service-books, and established her one only volume. It behooves us to be watchful how we take a single step towards becoming entangled in the old meshes.‡

But need the enrichment of the Prayer-Book;—such enrichment as has been described, necessarily involve an unwieldiness in the volume, or, what would be still worse, an overflow into a supplement? Certainly not; for by judicious management every change advocated in this paper, and more besides, might be accomplished without transgressing by so much as a page or a paragraph the limits of the present standard book. All the space needed could be secured by the simple expedient of omitting matter that has been found by actual experience to be superfluous. Redundancy and unnecessary repetition are to the discredit of a book that enjoys such an unrivalled reputation as the Common Prayer. They are blemishes upon the face of its literary perfectness. Who has not marvelled at the strange duplication of the Litany and the Office of the Holy Communion in the Ordinal, when the special petitions proper to those services when used in that connection might easily have been printed by themselves with a direction that they be inserted in the appointed place?

* Let us hope that before long there may be devised some better way of providing relief for our Widows and Orphans than that of the indirect taxation of the singers of hymns.

† The Greek Office Books, it is said, fill eighteen quartos.

‡ In that naive and racy bit of English (omitted in our American book) entitled *Concerning the Service of the Church*, one of the very choicest morsels is the following, "Moreover, the number and hardness of the Rules called the *Pie*, and the manifold changings of the Service, was the cause, that to turn the Book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out."

Scholars, of course, know perfectly well how this came about. The Ordinal does not belong to the Prayer-Book proper, but has a separate identity of its own. When printed as a book by itself it is all very well that it should include the Litany and the Holy Communion in full, but why allow these superfluous pages to crowd out others that are really needed? *

It has already been explained how the room now occupied by the "Selections" might be economized, and by the same simple device the space engrossed by divers psalms here and there in the Occasional Offices, *e.g.* Psalm li in the Visitation of Prisoners, and Psalm cxxx in the Visitation of the Sick could be made available for other use.

Again why continue to devote a quarter of a page of precious space to the "Prayer for imprisoned debtors," seeing that now, for a long time past, there has been no such thing in the United States as imprisonment for debt? By availing ourselves of only a portion of these possible methods of garnering space, all that is desired might be accomplished, without making the Prayer-Book bulkier by a single leaf than it is to-day.

But would a Prayer-Book thus enriched be accepted by the Church at large? Is there any reason to think that the inertia which inheres in all large bodies, and to a singularly marked degree in our own Communion, could be overcome? The General Convention can give an approximate answer to these questions, it cannot settle them decisively, for it is a body which mirrors only to a certain extent the real mind and temper of the constituencies represented in it. One thing is certain, that only by allowing fullest possible play to the principle of "local option" could any wholly new piece of work on the part of revisionists,

* It may be wise to buttress the position taken with a quotation out of Dr. Coit.

"We really, however, do not see any necessity for either of these Services in American Books; as with us the Ordinal always *now*, makes a part of the Prayer-Book in all editions. It would be a saving to expunge them and no change would be necessary, except the introduction of such a litanical petition and suffrage with the Services for Deacons and Priests, as already exists in the Service for Bishops. The Church of England retains the Litany in her Ordinal, for that, until latterly, was printed in a separate book, and was not to be had unless ordered expressly. And yet with even such a practice she has but one Communion Service. We study cheapness and expedition in our day. They can both be consulted here, *salva fide et salva ecclesia*." Report of 1844.

however excellent it might be in itself considered, find acceptance. To allow features introduced into the body of an existing service to be accounted optional, would indeed be impossible, without gendering the very wildest confusion. Upon such points the Church would have to decide outright, for or against, and stand by her decisions. But as respects every additional and novel Office proposed, the greatest care ought to be taken to have the indefinite *An* rather than the definite *The* prefixed to it. Before such new uses are made binding on all, they must have met and endured the test of thorough trial by some. This is only fair.

But there is a limit, it must be remembered, in the Church's case, to the binding power of precedent and prescription. The social order changes, and of these tides that ebb and flow it is our bounden duty to take note. Had mere aversion to change, dogged unwillingness to venture an experiment always carried the day; instead of having the Prayer-Book as it is, we should still be drearily debating the rival merits of Hereford and Sarum. The great question to be settled is Does an emergency exist serious enough to warrant an attempt on our part to make better, what we know already to be good? Is the Republic expecting of us, and reasonably expecting of us, greater things than with our present equipment we are quite able to accomplish? There are eyes that think they see a great future before this Church,—are they right, or is it only mirage? At any rate ours is no return trip,—we are outward bound. The ship is cutting new and untried waters with her keel at every moment. There is no occasion to question the sufficiency of either compass or helm, but in certain matters of a practical sort there is a demand upon us to use judgment, we are bound to give a place in our seamanship to present common sense as well as to respect for ancient usage, and along with it all to feel some confidence that if the ship is what we think her to be, "the winds of God" may be trusted to bring her safely into port.

WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON.

THE GREEK CHURCH.

The Greek Church is, in Eastern Europe, the Church whose annals extend farthest back, for its history is associated with the very beginnings of Christianity. In fact the Greek Clergy assert that the Apostles and their disciples wrote the Gospels, except Saint Matthew, in their language, although the text which we have was translated from the Syriac. The Gospel was preached at Philippi, at Thessalonica, at Corinth and at Athens by a student of the Greek Colleges of Tarsus, Saint Paul,* at the time when the disciples of Jesus Christ, moved by his sufferings, were proclaiming it at Jerusalem.† Paul established Dionysius at Athens, Aristarchus at Thessalonica, Epaphroditus at Philippi, Silas at Corinth, Timothy at Crete. "The names Christian and Greek were almost synonymous. ‡ Greece which was in appearance conquered took a glorious revenge upon the triumph of the Romans. Vain were the edicts of the Cæsars and efforts of the pro-consuls; she forced upon the civilized world the faith she had embraced,

*Whom the Englishman Ricaut, styles the great Doctor of the Greek Church.

† Ricaut.

‡ The name of Stephanus, the proto-martyr, is Greek.

compelling the Capitol to bow before the divine Logos, of which Plato had already spoken. The early Fathers, disciples of the Crucified One, and of the founder of the Academy, were all, both in language and ideas, Greek. Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Ignatius, Justin, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Pantænetus, Irenæus, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, etc., all these belong to the Greek civilization, and their talents were equal to their energy. Their moderation was as great as their courage. They did not sacrifice philosophy to faith, nor free will to grace. They foresaw the danger of reactions and were never heard cursing science because hating the scepticism of the heathen schools. The events which were taking place at that time in the West show how difficult it is to preserve like moderation in centuries of faith. The most illustrious Latin father, until the Bishop of Hippo, Tertullian, boasted of his excessive austerity and bold contempt for human reason. (*Credo quid absurdum*). After the triumph of Christianity, these tendencies, instead of becoming weaker, increased. The Latin-African school, of which Tertullian was the founder, drew the West into its deplorable errors. Saint Augustin advised recourse to the secular Arm. It has also been charged that his disciple, Prosper, made too many concessions to Manichean fatalism.* In vain did Gaul, fortified by the sympathy of the Greek Church, endeavor to resist.† But the Greek Clergy succeeded in preserving far more rational doctrines in the East. Athanasius the Great, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil, etc., never wished to renounce a philosophical religion in order to abandon themselves to a lawless mysticism. The same doctors who alike proclaimed the right of human liberty and the influence of grace, resisted the errors of African Monachism which since the reign of the Egyptian Anthony had won so many followers. While S. Jerome was yielding himself in the solitude of Bethlehem, to all the ecstasy of Monastic fervor, Basil the Great, on the contrary, was endeavoring by the famous rule, which is to-day the law of eastern convents, to prevent their most dangerous abuse. A Russian writer who left the Greek Church to join the ranks of the Roman hierarchy is obliged to admit that the Greek Clergy then occupied in the Church an exceptional position. "It is perhaps the East,"

* Ampère, *La littérature Française avant le XII. siècle.*

† Ampère, *Ibid.*

says Father Gagarine, "which offers us the grandest spectacle of the magnificent breadth of Catholic truth, and which defended it with so much wisdom and renown from the attacks of innovators with that army of Doctors and of Fathers which the Greek Church boasts as having come from her ranks. If the glory of the ancient Church of Gaul has been able to dazzle the eyes of some of her children to the harmonious proportions of the Universal Church, such an error can be more easily understood in the children of a Church which has produced an Athanasius, a Cyrillus, a Chrysostom, a Basil and many others." *

This superiority still existed in the Greek Church in the IX century, at the time when Photius showed himself so hostile to the centralistic tendencies of the papacy. M. Renan affirms that the West had no Bishop comparable with the learned Patriarch of Constantinople.† M. Weiss himself, notwithstanding his zeal for Catholicism, is obliged to admit that this "ambitious" ‡ Photius is no less celebrated in literary than in ecclesiastical history, that he was endowed with an extraordinary genius and with an indefatigable ardor for study, that the judgments of the Myriobiblos are almost invariably dictated by the purest taste.¶ Such were not assuredly the barbarous writers, gone from the ranks of the Western Clergy, whose writings Ampère criticises so disparagingly in his melancholy picture of the IX century.¶

I am aware that the Greek Clergy of this epoch have been accused of servility. But the charge is too sweeping. M. Martin Doisy, a Catholic writer, has proved by numerous citations ** what were the theories, both social and political, of the Greek Fathers. Their lives were not in contradiction to their doctrines. Justin, the Philosopher, died a martyr; Origen was tortured for the Gospel's sake; Athanasius was exiled several times; Gregory Thaumaturgus was cruelly persecuted under Decius; Gregory of

* Gagarine, *La Russie sera t'elle Catholique*, p. 26-27.

† Some years ago a Greek writer published in London a very beautiful edition of this illustrious man's letters.

‡ A learned Protestant writer, Kanckius, *De Byzantinarum rerum scriptoribus*, in no instance credits the reproaches brought against Photius by Catholic historians which are repeated in our day by the Abbe Jager in his *Histoire de Photius*, Paris, 1844.

¶ *Biographie Universelle*, Michaud, Vol. XXXIII.

¶ *La littérature française avant le XII. siècle.*

** Martin Doisy *Histoire de la charité, de l'égalité et de la fraternité parmi les hommes*, 1848.

Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa were obliged to leave their episcopal sees; Basil was exposed to the wrath of Valens, and Chrysostom was exiled to expiate the discourses which disgusted the Court and which moderately pleased Amadeus Thierry, senator of the second empire.*

The Greeks add that the West, so eager to reproach the Greek Clergy with submissiveness to civil power, ought to have been willing to have prevented in their country the terrible struggles causing such torrents of blood to flow among them. According to them, the evils caused by the claims of the theocracy have been too readily forgotten in the study of this question. These claims, openly avowed by Gregory VII. in the XI century† were still put forth by Pius V. in the XVI, and reappeared in our times after the French revolution. What would have been the result in the East if, while the Greek State was attacked in the North by the Slavonians, and in the South by the Arabs and Turks, the patriarchs had placed the empire under interdict, deposed the Cæsars, attempted to transform the emperors into vassals of spiritual power? It is useless to say that this dictatorship was necessary to the defense of the people from the despots, to prevent the violation of the law of marriage, to oblige them to respect the divine precepts of the Gospel, etc.; it has not been remarked in reading the history of the Western countries in the middle ages that the princes were more humane and more conscientious than the autocrats of Byzantium and that the people were less oppressed at Naples and at Paris than at Constantinople and Athens. The people of France ruined by the crusades of Innocent III., Italy stained with the blood of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, Germany rent by the adversaries of the Popes and their protégés; such are the fruits of a policy which the most religious sovereign of those troublous times, Louis IX., king of France, estimated at its just value in refusing to lend himself to its excesses. The Greek Clergy are culpable for holding the same views as the father of the Bourbons upon the connection of Church and State. In protesting against the dictatorship of the Pope,—although never refusing to recognize in him the patriarch of Rome,—it condemned by every means at its disposal the singular abuse then made of religious

* His article upon St. J. Chrysostom in the *Revue des deux Mondes*.

† G. Langeron, *Grégoire VII. et les origines de la doctrine ultramontaine*. . . .

claims, and solemnly reproved a system which commences by crushing under foot the Crown of Henry IV. and ends in Saint Bartholomew. Has it by this merited the anathemas of liberals and philosophers, too eager in France to accept certain clerical theories? If it has committed errors and forgotten more than once the true Gospel principles, certainly it is not in refusing to sanction by its approval the decisions of Boniface VIII!

The cause of the decadence of the Greek Church must be sought less in her excessive submission to civil power, than in those causes which led to the ruin of the nation. The invasion of barbarians which terminated in the West with the founding of the Duchy of Normandy, became in the East more and more menacing. Recent historians in France who are occupied with Byzantine history, argue that a very inexact idea prevails of the situation of the Empire which the wave of barbarians, ever increasing, seemed perpetually on the point of submerging. The Persians, the Slavonians, the Arabs, the Turk Teldjoudes, the Ottomans, all these enemies to the name Christian, seemed to have invoked her destruction. It is not astonishing that she succumbed; on the contrary, it is surprising she resisted so long.*

The torpor fallen upon the Greek Church by these events, had the advantage of preserving her from that ardor for unhappy changes by which the Roman Church had been seized since the separation of Rome and of Constantinople. None of the œcumenical patriarchs had the whim of "developing" ancient Catholicism, still less of permeating her with a political theory in conformity with the aspirations of despotism. The teaching of the orthodox Church has then remained purely dogmatic and has never sought to prescribe for the faithful a profession of political faith such as the encyclical *Mirari* of Gregory XVI. and the famous Syllabus of Pius IX. If the ideas tending to become more prevalent among those people who have some estimate of

* See for example Drapeyron, *L'Empereur Héraclius et l'empire byzantin au VII. siècle*. M. Zambelios, a Greek writer, in a work upon this Empire, has sufficiently proved that it was in no respect inferior to the other autocratic States. Doubtless an autocracy does not develop the masculine virtues which pertain to free countries, but if the name "low empire" given to the Grecian empire be just, it should be equally applied to all the States which were under the same political regime.

their dignity, find no support there, they at least meet with no obstacle.

The Church's resistance to papal autocracy in the second half of the XIV and the first half of the XV centuries, is not, as so often asserted, the cause of the danger which the Turkish Ottomans brought upon the Empire. The Papacy was no longer in condition to assume the leadership in the Christian world or able to vigorously repulse the Mussulmans. Was she not thus rent by the shameful quarrels which she herself legitimized in the conduct of the Greek Clergy? From 1378 when at the same time Urban VI. and Clement VII. were elected, until the abdication of Felix V. seventy-five years of unparalleled disorder rolled by, such as the schismatics have never experienced. A John XIII. stained with crimes one cannot mention, those depraved pontiffs who have been scourged by the illustrious Doctors of the University of Paris, Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly, the Clémenges,* were these calculated to inspire in the minds of the Greek Clergy a desire for *unity* unless they sacrificed themselves to the basest covetousness? It is very convenient to reproach the *schismatic* clergy with the ruin of the Empire, but those who have taken care to study Byzantine annals know full well that sacrificing the religious liberties of the nation could not prevent the taking of Constantinople. Egoism was the law of the feudal world. If Greece was basely abandoned, Catholic Spain fared no better in the VIII century, when betrayed by the Arabs. Jerusalem was also forsaken when the ardor of the crusades was spent.

The conquest accomplished, the Greek nation found protection in the shadow of the throne of those patriarchs of Constantinople who had strongly resisted the Roman policy. When Byzantium had been transformed into "New Rome" by the all-powerful will of the world's Master, the titles of dignitaries, the terms of jurisprudence, the language of the Court, all became Latin. The upper classes affected to use the idiom of the conquerors of Greece. But the Church remained faithful to the language of the Gospel. The pulpit, illustrious in its Gregory and Chrysostom, preserved among the people the religion of their national literature. The insensible, yet persevering efforts of the priesthood were so powerful that it succeeded with the concurrence

* It suffices to cite Nicolas de Clémenges' book, *De statu corrupto Ecclesie*. . . .

of the masses, always docile to its influence, in substituting Greek Emperors for Roman Cæsars, when about 457 the Thracian dynasty in the person of Leon I. ascended the throne of S. Constantine. When the Turks entered Constantinople the barbarians established upon Greek soil, were Greek in religion. The Ottomans,—no Church has ever succeeded up to the present time in converting them,—having refused to imitate their example, nevertheless allowed the Patriarchs to render great services to the Greek nationality of which they became the real chiefs and preserved them from deplorable schisms. In the “quarter of the Fanal” called already in the time of the Greek Emperors *κύλη τοῦ Φαναρίου*, they gathered around them besides the members of the synod, the notable families of Constantinople which composed the “Laic Clergy.” This Clergy, which became the nursery of eminent men, existed before the Conquest. It was divided into first and second *Pentas*. The first composed of the Grand Logothete, (Archchancellor of the patriarchal throne), of the Tkevo-phylox, (guard) of the Khartophylox (keeper of the archives) of the Great Ecclesiarch and of the Great Orator. In the second, were comprised the Great Economist the Prothonotary, the Referendary, the Dean (Chorister) and the first Secretary, then a host of subaltern officers.

But the concessions made to patriarchal authority by Mahomet II. although very favorable to the Greek nationality, were not long in being compromised owing to the wrong principles of the Turkish government. Accustomed to traffic with all dignitaries, the Ottomans were not unwilling to use to the profit of their own cupidity the ambition which will always exist in convents. During the year 1470 a monk named Simeon of the Trebizonde, bought the crown of the Patriarchs for the price of a tribute of 1000 ducats. The following year Dionysius (Dionysius I.) Bishop of Philippopolis obtained the favor of replacing it for the price of 2,000 ducats. A religious Servian, named Raphaël who had spent his time in taverns, ended by obtaining the preference in proving himself more generous still. After the elevation of Raphaël I. to the Patriarchate, the Patriarchs were obliged to pay 2000 ducats annual tribute. This sum was even increased later to 3000 ducats. To these regular contributions must be added the silver which had to be given the favorite sultanas, to the eunuchs in favor, to the servants of the great, to those intriguers of all kinds who speculated upon the favor of the

Padishahs. Thus taxed by their covetous masters, the Patriarchs were compelled to tyrannize over the unfortunate Christians subject to their jurisdiction and to defraud them in the most disgraceful manner. Taxed pitilessly by their pastors, this miserable flock were condemned by the conquerors to absolute ignorance. Fearing that intellectual culture might awaken the glorious recollections of ancient Greece, the Mussulman strictly forbade the founding of public schools. Thus the only glimmers of civilization were preserved in the Monasteries, which the Turks generally respected. "These Monasteries," writes the Greek historian, Rizo Neronlos, "were transformed into schools, and owing to the favor of protection accorded them, became the sacred shelter of letters; so that by a bizarre contrast, the writers of antiquity were studied in the ancient seats of ignorance and where formerly they were the objects of scorn and persecution by the monks."*

Later on in the national insurrection the convents were regarded as a kind of fortress. The Chariot which transported through the air above the meteors of Thessaly the soldier of orthodoxy, was refused the disciple of Mahomet. The Monasteries had the right to show boldness, for the Asiatic, the disciple of the Brahmans; as the followers of Buddha and of the Prophet of Mecca had an instinctive respect for the monks.

Meanwhile the West had received from the Greeks, elements which could not long remain sterile.† The Renaissance transformed Southern Europe. Later the North yielded to the profound influence of the Reformation. This double revolution, the consequences of which are ceaselessly felt, had in Eastern Europe much greater results than generally believed.‡ Naturally the members of the Clergy who were lamenting the decadence of the Greek Church turned their eyes toward the West. At the beginning of the XVI century, we see the eminent theologian and distinguished philologist Maximus Margounios, Bishop of Cythera, entering into relations with the savants

*It is well known that in our times a Catholic school has again commenced preaching against the use of the classics.

†*Spectateur de l'Orient*, No. 28.

‡A very curious conversation by La Guilletière on the influence exercised by the Greek Clergy upon the national renaissance in the XVI and XVII centuries.—*Spectateur de l'Orient*, Revue d'Athènes, No. 28.

of Germany. On their part, the doctors of the Protestant Churches were constrained to desire an understanding with the churches which had energetically resisted the autocratic claims of the Papacy at a time when the entire West yielded to it with resignation. Catholicism equally comprehended the necessity of creating for herself partisans in the East. This idea was especially brought forward by the Jesuits who since the missions of Francis Xavier had conceived the project, eminently politic and worthy the enterprising Spanish genius of that epoch* of regaining Eastern Europe, which as in Asia and America, was the lost ground in the North of our continent. The same men who were compelled to make use of the false Dimitri in order to create in Russia a revolution at once political and religious,† must needs turn their eyes on Constantinople, Greece and Roumania.‡

The same year as the massacre of S. Bartholomew [1572] was born in Candia the celebrated prelate who was obliged to pay with his head for his opposition to the plans of the Roman Church.¶ Disciple of Maximus Margounios, relative of Mélétiós Piga, patriarch of Alexandria, both of whom were authors of writings directed against the Papacy; the young Candiot had no need of lessons from these eminent masters, in order to become a warm defender of the religious independence of Greece. Ancient Crete had become since the downfall of Constantinople a centre of light to the Greeks. The majority of the Byzantine aristocracy, and a great number of savants had sought refuge there under the shadow of the banner of the redoubtable S. Mark. The East and West were able to agree up to a certain point. Indeed the religion of Venice resembled rather that of French Gallicanism than Spanish

* The founders of the Society, the sons of Spain, were not unacquainted with the tendencies of the Cortez and Pizarros. L. Ranke, *Die römische Papste*.

† Mérimée, *Les faux Démétrius*.

‡ In Roumania they endeavored to establish Papal authority by means of the protection afforded them by Mihne II. the apostate.

¶ This opposition explains the hatred displayed by Leon Allatius toward him, for although loaded with the favors of the popes yet only the papal adversaries seem disposed to render justice to a man whose patriotism and good intentions cannot be doubted whether or no one approve of his ideas.—Goss. art. *Lukaris Cyrillus* in the *Real-Encyclopedie*. Herzog; Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, II. 699.

Catholicism.* Venice offered a shelter in her Lagoon to the famous Fra Paolo Sarpi whom Bossuet describes as a "Protestant in monk's garb;" she braved excommunications more than once.† The young Cretan theologians also went willingly to Padua, where the honored republic respected, more than the other Catholic States, their traditions and beliefs.

At Venice Constantine Loukaris conceived a great admiration for the Western civilization.‡ Despotism had not yet wholly stifled the spirit of life in the Italian peninsula. Tasso who had sung of the Crusades and who promised the East a renewal of those memorable expeditions,|| Tasso still lived. Galileo was rending, notwithstanding the threats of the Inquisition, the contracted heavens of the middle ages. The terrible Sarpi related to astonished Christianity the mysteries of the Council of Trent.¶ The word "reformation" resounded too often at Padua and Venice to fail of awakening in Loukaris the desire to understand this great intellectual movement. He wished to study it for himself in those cities which seemed then to personify it,—Geneva, Amsterdam and London.

When Loukaris had travelled over Europe he went to Alexandria, where his relative Meletios Piga then occupied the See of S. Athanasius the Great. It was there that he was "consecrated" ** priest, under the name of Cyrilus.†† But scarcely had he been promoted to the dignity of Archimandrite than the "œcumenical judge," the Patriarch of Alexandria was called to Constantinople to govern the "Great Church" during the vacancy of the See. This prelate, uneasy because of the propaganda of the Jesuits

* Certain acts of intolerance charged against the Venetian government do not contradict this. The spirit of intolerance was so much the spirit of the times that the greatest men of French Gallicanism were not always exempt from it.

† See Bianchi-Giovini; *Biografia di Fra Paolo Sarpi, teslogo e consultore di stato della Repubblica Veneta*. Zurich, 1836.

‡ A Greek writer in a drama entitled *The Youth of Loukaris*, published in 1856, very well understood the influence which the visit to Venice must have exerted upon the future patriarch. The necessities of dramatic composition obliged the Author to represent the Cretan Student as in love with a Venetian Lady whom the Jesuits gave into the hands of the Inquisition.

|| *Gerusalemme liberata*, C. XVI.

¶ *Istoria del Concilio tridentino*, London, 1619.

** The Orientals use this word in the same sense as the Catholics—that of ordain.

†† In the Greek Church the baptismal name is then changed.

among the Slaves of the West, sent Cyrillus to Poland as the most capable man for maintaining a resolute and untiring command of the Roman Church. The Exarch (legate) of the Patriarch of Alexandria was accompanied by Nicephorus who represented the Church of Constantinople. In Poland they found the Catholic restoration in all its fervor.* So Sigismund III. Wasa, dedicated to the service of the Jesuits, had sworn to subjugate all the nations of Slavonic origin. It was necessary at the same time to destroy the Orthodox Churches and the Reformed Churches of the Celto-Slaves, commencing with Poland, Lithuania and smaller Russia. They then dreamed of the conquest of Moscow. The last Czar † of the blood of Rurik was about to die and already the Jesuits were preparing to replace his successor, the Usurper Boris, by a pretended heir of the great and popular Norman dynasty. When Cyrillus arrived in the States of Sigismund, a council assembled at Brzesc had already pronounced in favor of the papal claims (1595). But the descendant of Gustavus Wasa found in Cyrillus an adversary who braved threats and rejected the most brilliant offers. Withdrawing to Wilna, the Exarch reflected that in order to resist so many allied adversaries against his faith, a Greco-Protestant union was necessary to oppose the Greco-Roman union. This thought with which Cyrillus was absorbed until his tragic death, terrified Sigismund. To prevent such an alarming coalition he attacked the Cossacks, unshaken in their devotion to the Eastern Church, and quartered their chiefs in Warsaw. The legate of Constantinople, Nicephorus, was arrested and strangled. Cyrillus escaped by flight a similar end.

A short time after his return to Egypt, Meletios having died, he was called to exercise in his place the high functions of Patriarch of Alexandria. [1602]. The twenty years passed in Cairo, where he established his residence and where his successors have remained, were the most peaceful epoch of his life! But the Jesuits hastened to profit by his removal. Shortly before Cyrillus' elevation

* The history of the Catholic restoration can be found in Leopold Ranke; *Die römische Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat*, etc. Berlin, 1834-36, which should be read in conjunction with his *Deutsche Geschichte ins Zeitalter der Reformation* (1839-1847).

† And not the last prince; for the Rurik Kovitchs still exist, the princes Koltzoff-Massalsky are the oldest branch of them. Prince Dolgorouky. *Notice sur les principales familles de la Russie*. Schneider, Berlin. . . .

to the Patriarchate [1601], elated by their triumphs among the Slaves, they established themselves at Constantinople, protected by the French Ambassador. The countenance of so powerful a government as that of Henry IV., a tolerant prince, but forced since his conversion to give some pledges to the Catholic party, was of a nature to invest them with great authority—especially in a country where the venality of the highest functionaries—that incurable plague of despotic States—opened unbounded perspectives to intrigue and fraud. None among the Clergy of New Rome were in condition to control them. Some years after their arrival in Constantinople [1605], Moscow fell into the hands of the false Dimitri and their protégé Marina Mnichek was wreathed with the crown of Saint Olga.* Their followers in Greece were so firmly assured of success that a *caloyer* preached publicly in advocacy of the primacy of the Patriarch of Rome [1612]. Cyrillus, who was then at Constantinople, protested earnestly against these efforts, of which no one so well as he perceived the serious consequences.

The Patriarch of Alexandria writing some years later [1616] to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "Primate and Metropolitan of all England," endeavors to make him understand that the crafty policy of the Jesuits and tireless propagandism were more insupportable to the peaceful Clergy of the Orthodox Church than even the domination of the Ottomans. "Most blessed and illustrious Archbishop," he writes him, "we will suffer joyfully all the vexations and trials which the most violent and dangerous enemies of Christianity bring upon us for the name of Jesus Christ, whom we confess, and whose stigmata are upon our bodies; and we would even suffer most willingly, if need be, the cruellest and last punishment, in order that our faith might glow the brighter and by this proof that the glory of God might be manifest among these infidel people. We fear then nothing from this kind of people, but rather from those 'dumb dogs.'† Those false agents, I mean those hypocrites who ‡ say the con-

* These details I have already given in the *Femmes en Orient*, second part, Russia, Letter No. 1. . . .

† Biblical expression. . . .

‡ The policy of the man to whom the interests of truth are secondary, is necessarily double. Pius VII monkish sagacity readily perceived the *commédiant*e in the *tragediant*e of Leipzig and of Waterloo. . . .

trary of what they think in their hearts,* who are not ashamed to carry their boldness so far as to impute blame even to God,† provided that they in any way promote the tyranny of the Roman Pontiff and assist him to attain his end.

These writers alarm us in the most extraordinary degree, and practice upon our naïvete in order to impose upon us. They use divers machinations to render us slaves and rely chiefly upon their power to disguise everything and to create very thorny difficulties, in disputes, while upon our side we are deprived of doctors competent to enter the lists against these sophists, to combat them with equal forces.”‡

Cyrillus did not believe at first that the best means of combatting these “sophists” was to have “doctors capable of entering the lists with them.” Like the majority of the Orientals, very little inclined to religious discussion, he had for a long time looked with dislike upon the theological struggles which in the XVII century divided patriotic Holland into two parties clamorous to destroy one another, and brought Oldenbarnevelt to the scaffold. Struggles, the political hue of which he seemed wholly to overlook.¶ At the epoch when he began to confide the secrets of his soul to the Doctors of the West, he still preferred the “ignorance”—so he terms it—of the Eastern Church to the “pestiferous questions” raised by the Gomarites and the Arminians. He boasted with enthusiasm of “the orthodoxy alway intact” of a people who suffer all things patiently for the faith of Christ and bear them joyfully.¶ He also declared he would never consent to any innovations in their religious doctrines.** The taste for novelty, he

* Cyrillus does not copy Pascal; for the *Provinciales* did not appear until 1656–1657.

† He means to say doubtless that they sacrifice His precepts and His laws to their policy. This is, as one knows, the theme of the *Provinciales*.

‡ Letters of the patriarch Loukaris. Letter III, in Aymon, *Monuments authentiques de la religion des Grecs*. La Haye, M.D. cc VIII.

¶ The beautiful work published recently by John Lothrop Motley: *The life and death of John of Barnevelt*. London, 1874.

¶ This word patiently has a deep significance when used by an Oriental, who the restless activity, very little akin to resignation, of the West astonishes and easily disconcerts.

** Letter to Uttenbogaert, May 30th, 1612.

writes in another letter,* is as prevalent at Rome as everywhere else. After having denounced the "tyranny" of the Roman Church, a fanaticism which, in his opinion, destroys instead of strengthening religion, Loukaris blames her for her passion for innovations. He applies to her, in a word, that terrible accusation of *Change*, by the aid of which Bossuet thought to be able to crush the Reformation.

But the voyage of David, the Duke William, "Councillor to the Council of the Princes of Orange," seems to have greatly modified the Patriarch's views. This councillor, who had studied Jurisprudence, Philosophy, Theology and the Oriental languages, endeavored without doubt, to prove to him that the Reformers not only had no taste for "innovations," but that they wished to return to the ancient beliefs of Polycarp, of Hermas, of Justin, of Pantænetus and of Clement of Alexandria.† In their judgment the dogmas introduced in the middle ages by barbarism and superstition could be renounced without the person abjuring them passing for an innovator‡ or being in the least heterodox.

If this was so, might not Cyrillus think that the reformers of the West had but continued the work already begun by the Orientals? Did not Photius the *αγιωτατος*, amid the timid silence of the Western Church, protest against an autocracy unknown in the Primitive Church? John Huss the Slave martyr, had he not sealed with his blood those protests from Greece? Zwingli, Luther and Calvin would be content to join Switzerland, Germany and France with the Greeks, and the Slaves' demands for the faith of the Primitive Christians. It is true that the Lutherans, Calvinists and Zwinglians had greatly modified the doctrines of Photius and even those of Huss and of Jerome of Prague in giving a new interpretation to the Sacraments. To this serious objection|| the reformers re-

*Letter of Cyrillus, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, to Jean Uttenbogaert, Minister of the Word of God in the Church at the Hague. This long and curious letter, which gives a picture of the orthodox Churches, was written at Wallachia the 10th of October, 1613.

†Such is the view advanced by Aymon, *Monuments authentiques de la religion des Grecs*, 261-451.

‡The correspondence between the Patriarch and the Duke William is found in *Monuments*, etc.

||The French Jansenists, notwithstanding their opposition to Papal dictatorship, attached great importance to this objection. They imitated Renaudot *Perpétuité de la foi de l'Église Catholique touchant les Sacraments*. Paris, 1713, Renaudot is a decided adversary of

plied that the Eastern Church,—Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople had declared in his response to the theologians of Wittenberg as the doctrine of Ephraim, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzen, etc.,—* attributed to Jesus Christ but two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and regarded the others as simple rites established by the Church. The Lord's Supper, they added, could be explained in quite another way than by the Transubstantiation of the Romanists. Saint Justin Martyr had indeed spoken of the Real Presence, but in the same sense in which Luther and the great theologian of the Eastern Church, S. John of Damascus had used the term. Even the extreme and radical views of Zwingli and of Calvin had their advocates among the most eminent Doctors of the Orthodox Church. Origen and others of the fathers had formally taught them.† In the VIII century, a council of 338 Bishops, assembled at Constantinople, had defined the Lord's Supper in the same terms as had the Sacramentarians of the West.‡ The Greeks, little inclined to the vague formulas so pleasing to the Oriental mind, had without doubt adopted transubstantiation, the first conception of which had been given by Rome;§ but the Orthodox Church so zealous for antiquity, ought she not to prefer the theories of Justin or Origen to those of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura? ¶

Such were the arguments necessarily making the greatest impression upon Loukaris' mind. Other points could not be in his eyes so objectionable as they have become since rationalism has subjugated so many minds. Calvin, it is true, had been a persecutor, like Pius V., but the Greek Church had scarcely been gentle with the Manicheans, and few people then believed in the triumph of tolerance. The Jesuits accused the Protestants of being fatalists,—but so had the Pelagians accused Saint Augustin and Saint

Aymon. (*Défense de la perpétuité de la foi contre les Monuments authentiques de la religion des Grecs*, par Jean Aymon, Paris, 1708), which it must be admitted is far from offering as important texts as those of Cyrillus Loukaris.

* So Aymon replies, *Mon. Auth.*, etc., 393, 394.

† *Τροφή ἐστὶ πνευματικὴ* writes Chrysostom, *Romelie*, 79.

‡ The history of this celebrated council, larger than the first Synod of Nicæa, Aymon, *Mons.*, etc., 408–421.

§ XVIIth decret. of the Synod of Jerusalem, Amon, *Mons.* 394–95. This Synod also was after the time of Cyril.

¶ Aymon, *Mons.*, etc., 403–404, notes of the principal texts upon the fathers who seem least in favor of the doctrines of transubstantiation.

Prosper, an accusation which could be readily brought against many philosophic systems, as for example, the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz, the Pantheism of Spinoza and of Malbranche, and the atheism of Hobbes. Loukaris, seeing the abuse made in the East of practices pompously termed pious deeds, supposed like the Western reformers, that the best means to discredit them was to avow the "futility of works." But this way of solving the problem of human destiny was less in conformity with the sentiment of the Eastern Church than the theories of the theologians of the company of Jesus. The Epistle of S. John is read with more pleasure in the East than the Epistle to the Romans.

But the zealous Patriarch, humbled by the Greek Nation's defeat, was necessarily more impressed by the ardent patriotism of the Reformers, than by the extreme difficulty of an attempt to reconcile their ideas with those of his Church.* The Reformation may indeed be proud of the immense service it rendered the people's cause. To her, England and Holland, the great as well as the small, owe their invincibility.† Geneva, a city of second rank, was able to brave her numerous enemies and to rival Rome in importance. Loukaris believed perhaps that Greece could alone regain in Protestant stoicism the generous inspirations whose traditions she seemed to have lost. This too pessimistic view indicates that he was not sufficiently impressed with one of the most beautiful characteristics of the Church in which he held the highest rank. Had not this Church upheld the Sons of Rurik in their struggles‡ against Mongolian domination? Did she not bless the standards of the Roumanian heroes,§ of the Tserni,—George, of the Botzaris and of the Miaoulis? True, the history of Russia and of Roumania was not much better known then in Constantinople than in Paris, and the darkness which covered Eastern Europe was so impenetrable that it required the eagle eye of a prophet to discern upon the horizon the triumphant banners of Servia and of regenerated Greece.

* Cyrillus had in 1614 (Ahmed I. then reigned) succeeded Neophyht II., Patriarch of Constantinople.

† Esquiroz *L'Angleterre et la vie Anglaise;—La Néerlande*.

‡ These details may be found in my article entitled, *Jean de Plan de Carpin ou Russes et Mongols*, *Revue des deux Mondes*, February 15th, 1872.

§ My article in *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1859, *Eroi della Rumenia*, and my study upon *Nationalité Roumaine*.

In 1622, during the reign of Mustapha I., Cyrillus' I. relations with the Protestant States had become so intimate that the Ambassadors of Great Britain and of the United Provinces took advantage of the death of Timothy I. to raise Cyrillus to the throne of Saint John Chrysostom.

At the beginning of the XVII century the Œcumenical Patriarch held a position in the Eastern Church, whose power can alone be realized by comparing it with that of the Bishop of Rome, in the West. Spiritual and temporal chief of the Greek Nation in the entire Empire of the Sultans, he never experienced among the orthodox Nations of the Eastern Peninsula the opposition to-day shown him by the Bulgarians. It is true that he was dependent upon the Turks, but the Western Patriarch, is he not forever under the control of Italy's Masters, and is not his precarious royalty subjected to many insults? To-day insulted by the agents of the "fleurdelisé,"* to-morrow captive at Fontainebleau, or the vassal of Austria, the Roman like the Greek Patriarch receives at once the most majestic titles† and the greatest affronts. Cyrillus understood full well that at Constantinople as at Rome, the "Tarpoean rock was near the Capitol."

The part taken by the Protestant States in Cyrillus' election would of itself give some idea of the prominent role they then played in Europe. In the Scandinavian countries, the Reform had conquered the partisans of the Pope; Saxony, England and Holland had declared themselves in opposition to the Papacy; in France, notwithstanding Henry IV. abjuration, they were in possession of both fortresses and armies. But these victories were about to be followed by irreparable catastrophes. Ferdinand II. had ascended the imperial throne. The Thirty Years' War had commenced, and the Œcumenical Patriarch was doomed to see Gustavus Adolphus' fall, killed by a Catholic ball at Lutzen. This memorable period in the history of the religious wars of the West, is also of the utmost importance in the annals of Eastern Europe. In the East as in the West, the Jesuits appear foremost upon the horizon. The councillors of Ferdinand of Austria bestir themselves in the Councils of the *Padishah* against the Patriarch of Constantinople. For a moment their efforts seem

* The name given by Dante to Philip the Beautiful.

† The Œcumenical Patriarch is called *παναγιωτατος* which is equivalent to the T. T. Latin Fathers,

about to be crowned with success. While Gustavus was dying at Lutzen (November 6, 1632) Kontaris, (Cyrillus II.) an agent of the Society was plotting the overthrow of Loukaris from the Patriarchal Throne. It is claimed that the blood of the Swedish hero was dearly paid for by the Society; * Cyrillus cost, † it is said, 50,000 crowns to the Roman Court. ‡

Cyrillus' first experience at Constantinople was not of a nature to encourage him. At the end of a year the Grand Vizier of Mustapha I. formerly cook of the *Serasker*, needing the sum of 100,000 ducats to give the Janizaries as the price of his dignity, sold the Patriarchate to Gregory the Blind, Bishop of Amasis (Gregory IV.) But as Loukaris had been unanimously elected, no prelate could be induced to vote for the Society of Jesus' candidate. These latter were forced to be satisfied with a sham election. But this scandalous proceeding having led many of the ambassadors to remonstrate, Gregory was exiled and Cyrillus about to be restored when the representative of the French king, and protector of the Jesuits, obtained at the price of gold to the avaricious Grand Vizier, the banishment of Cyrillus and election of Anthimos, Archbishop of Adrianople (Anthimos II.) The Ambassador of his most Christian majesty had the melancholy honor of being congratulated by the Pope who condemned Galileo; "Your action at Constantinople," wrote Urban VIII., "has aroused the enthusiasm of the Roman Church, which already knew by experience, your great piety. We have learned with great joy the calamities which have befallen that son of darkness, (it is pleasant to hear the pontiff who proscribed science in Galileo call the learned Patriarch of Constantinople *filium tenebrarum*), that athlete of hell, and the terrible blow to heresy, while by your effort the venerable

* It is a fact that an emissary of the Jesuits, Duke of Saxe-Lauenbourg, was accused of having betrayed the Society.

† These shameful traffics were not rare in Turkey. Even in the XVIII century, the Porte sold the head of Gregory III. Ghika, brother of my ancestor. His crime was the opposing of the cession of Bukovina to Austria. I have confirmed the truth of this by the precious dispatches preserved in the Viennese Archives. *Gli Albanesi in Rumenia*.

‡ At the expense of 50,000 crowns, one moiety whereof was paid from Rome; the whole design against Cyrillus being managed by the Jesuits and other *religieux* living at Galata, who accused him before the Turks of keeping a secret correspondence with the Muscovites and the Cossacks.—Ricaud, p. 38.

father Anthemios has been raised to the See of Constantinople. So long as you are in the Levant we are assured the Church will never lack a valiant defender."

The question naturally arises where the Roman Church procured this money which she scattered so lavishly at Constantinople.

In 1624, the year of Loukaris' re-establishment, through England's intervention, a Greek *Caloyer* was sent to Constantinople by the Propaganda to inform the Jesuits that it was in possession of 20,000 Tallaris to be placed at their disposal if they succeeded in removing Loukaris from the Patriarchal Throne. Half of this sum had been given by a French lady. The Gauls formerly attached to the Druidical worship, have never lost their ancient penchant for a theocracy, for even to-day France provides annually the enormous sum of 3,000,000 francs for the propagation of the Faith.

After expending so much money without succeeding in freeing themselves of the Patriarch, the Papacy, which had essayed the seduction of Zwingli, attempted to win Loukaris. A Greek, educated at the Jesuit college, Rome, was sent by Cardinal Brandini to Constantinople with written instructions to be given the Patriarch.* As Cyrillus' patriotism was well known he was first informed that Rome fervently desired the regeneration of "so noble" a nation and that this could alone be accomplished by the Roman Church. But Cyrillus instead of listening to a Church so favorably disposed, had, it was said, adopted the errors of Luther and Calvin, had sent priests to England to suck the venom of heresy and had formed alliances with the Huguenot ambassadors. But his holiness preferred believing these reports to be false. If the Patriarch would consent to acknowledge the Council of Florence, and to condemn the Northern heretics, the Holy See would gladly grant him a large sum for reuniting so noble a member,† and would give him special assistance, for the Patriarch's example would be of much weight to other Christians of the East.

* *Instruktion per Canachio Rossi* in a letter of Cyrillus: *Narration historique des troubles que les Jésuites excitèrent à Constantinople contre le patriarche Cyrille, l'an de grâce, 1627-1628, etc.* This narration which was written by Chrysoskoulos Logothete (Mancetus) of the Patriarchal Church, was addressed to the Duke William, Nov. 9, 1628. Quoted in Aymon, *Monuments Authentiques*, 201-36.

† "Nostre Signori . . . voluntierosissimamente spenderebbe igni gran summa di denaro per riunir si nobil membro alla Chiesa."

Cyrillus did not follow the example of Esau. He had no desire to sell the birthright of the Eastern Church for his own personal gain. His convictions were too sincere to allow him to lend himself to such a deed. He replied to the Envoy of Rome that he need not wait to receive any explanation and that he must consider his communications as null. This negotiation terminated, he profited by the moments of calm he enjoyed, to labor for the realization of his views. Five years had rolled away in ceaseless and fruitless agitation. The moment had come for action.

Loukaris had been the witness of the great results in the West produced by means of the press. Without the discovery of the art of printing, Zwingli, Luther and Calvin might probably have been stranded as were Arnauld of Brescia, Wycliffe and John Huss. The Patriarch therefore ordered a press to be brought from England with the Greek characters. This press was brought to Constantinople (June, 1627) by a monk named Metaxas, from Cephalonia, an old fellow student of Cyrillus at the University of Padua. Metaxas had learned the art of printing from the English. The Turks with the careless shortsightedness of incurable ignorance, authorized the founding of a press in the Capitol. But the Jesuits watched for them. The poor typography was exposed to calumnies.* Parties make no scruple in our day of employing similar means, and the Papacy in assuming rank among temporal powers was led into such errors; it would be more than ingenuous to acknowledge this. It was pretended that the Patriarch had had a book printed intended to cause a revolt of the Greeks against the Mussulman and to instigate the dreaded Cossacks to the conquest of the Empire. This accusation was the more adroit in that at the commencement of Mourad IV. reign, the Cossacks' fleet was ravaging the entire European Coast of the Bosphorus. The Jesuits had at last found the means of rendering the Turks suspicious of the entire Greek Clergy and of securing to themselves at the same time the good will of the people whom in appearance they were protecting against the treason of the "Schismatics." The emissaries of the Company conducted Janizaries—sin-

* Calumnies which gave those who created them but few scruples, if one may judge from the following:—"It is only a venial sin," said the R. R. some years later (1645) in their Thesis of Louvain, "to calumniate and accuse falsely of crimes, to ruin those who speak evil of us."

gularly touching coincidence!—to the house of Nicodemus Metaxas, whose presses were destroyed and his papers confiscated. Fortunately for the Patriarch, the Grand Vizier distrusted these Christian monks, so zealous for Islamism. He had the manuscripts translated by the *Mouphiti* Yahya-Effendi. This *Mouphiti* replied in a manner which must have caused a blush to rise to the faces of those priests who urged Ferdinand II. to so many atrocious persecutions.* “A dogma,” he answered, “may be contrary to the law of the prophet without meriting any punishment. Since the *Padishah* has authorized Christians to keep their religion, it should be permitted them to preach and to write in its defense. The actions of men and not their opinions are at the resort of the law.” When Bossuet applauded, some years later, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—date of the decline of France—he showed himself to be less in accord, than this honest Turk, with His spirit who desired not to break the bruised reed nor to quench the smoking flax.

The coup d'Etat attempted against Metaxas became momentarily more serious for the Jesuits. Sir Thomas Rowe, Ambassador of Charles I., complained to the Grand Vizier of the insults offered to a protégé of England, and demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits. The representative of Venice evinced the same indignation.† The Company was immediately expelled from the States of the Sultan. The Ambassador of France tried in vain to defend his friends. The Sultan was astonished to see a power which was considered among the most faithful allies of the Porte withholding from the traitor his just anger.

While the *Padishah* was administering such a lesson to France, a Frenchwoman came to the aid of the Society. Henrietta-Maria, Queen of England, influenced in their favor the versatile mind of Charles I. Sir Thomas Rowe, who detested them, was recalled to England. The Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, the friend and correspondent of Loukaris, was replaced by Laud, the advocate of political and religious absolutism. There remained then but one support to Loukaris, Cornelius Van der Haga,

* A. Michielo. *Histoire secrète de l'Autriche*.

† M. de Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, ch. XLVI cites a discourse directed against the Jesuits, addressed to the *Mouphiti* and taken from the Archives of Venice.

representative of the United Provinces.* This diplomat who understood so clearly all that Holland owed to the Reformation, gladly promised to declare himself in favor of the Chief of the "great Church." Cyrillus was determined by a solemn act to gain the support of the Protestants, and in 1629 there appeared in Latin at Geneva, where Léger, Loukaris' friend, had it printed, the "*Profession de foi du Révérendissime seigneur Cyrille, Patriarche de Constantinople*."†

The title of Cyrillus' document would of itself give an idea of what was done then with this kind of manifestations in the East. As the Greeks had not at that time very decided opinions upon many theological problems, dogmatic expositions were wont to appear from time to time, impossible to reconcile. Between the *Profession de foi* of Cyrillus, approved by a synod held at Constantinople,‡ and the Bouclier de la foi of the Synod of Jerusalem,|| all reconciliation is impossible. The *Profession de foi* is purely Calvinistic. The Bouclier seems frequently to be dictated by theologians of the Roman Church. This fact in appearance so strange, presented surprising analogies to what was taking place in the West at this epoch. The Church of *Unity* was divided into parties, hurling anathemas at one another. Bossuet denounced Pascal as a Jansenist; Fénelon, in his character of ultramontaine, accused of heterodoxy Bossuet and all the prelates of that celebrated national synod of 1682, who Rome never wished to recognize ¶ as true Catholics.** The principle of authority

* In a letter "aux très grands et très magnifiques seigneurs," etc., of the Republic of Geneva, August 7th, 1636, Loukaris calls him "Le Défenseur et l'appui de la foi Catholique-Orthodoxe."—Aymon, *Mon. Auth.*, etc. Letters of the patriarch Loukaris.

† The Greek edition of the *Profession* appeared at Geneva, 1633. Aymon, *Mon. Auth. de la rel. des Grecs*, 233-54.

‡ Letter of Arsenios, monk of Constantinople, quoted in Allatius *De perp.*, p. 1022.

|| Sous les Auspices de Jesus Christ, Bouclier de la foi orthodoxe, ou Apologie et Réfutation fait par le Concile de Jérusalem, tenus sous Dosithéos patriarche de cette ville, contre les Calvinistes hérétiques qui disent faussement que l'Eglise Orientale a des sentiments conformes à ce que'ils enseignent de Dieu et des Choses divines.

¶ J. de Maistre, *De l'Eglise gallicane*, Paris, 1821. The eloquent and spiritual Savoyard regards the ancient France of Gerson, Louis IX. and Pascal as but a schismatic country. The decrees of the Vatican Councils have justified him,

** Under Napoleon III. the French Catholics were divided into absolutists independent of power (M. Veuillot), absolutists subject to power (M. Dubois), and liberal Catholics (M. de Montalembert), etc.

in matters of religion never preserved the people from divisions, which are indeed the consequences of diversity of intelligence. Loukaris did not understand this great truth better than his enemies. Both called and believed themselves alone to be orthodox, and in the same texts had the skill of discovering their own convictions. While the Patriarch found in the Gospel only that "free will *is dead* in the unregenerate," * his antagonists found there the Real Presence † and the religion of the Saints.

The Confession de foi was too grave an event not to produce a great sensation. The Roman Catholics at first disputed its authenticity. ‡ A system afterward adopted by the Orthodox Bishops at the Synod of Jerusalem, § having many partisans in the East, ¶ begins to find opponents since the opinion of the critical Occidental is known. ** The learned Greek writer to whom we are indebted for *Cyrille Loukaris ou l'Eglise grecque pendant la guerre de trente ans*, †† no where attempts to deny "the Calvinistic errors" of Cyrillus, while arguing loyally that "these errors were the illusion of a noble heart, and that, even though he might be mistaken as to the way, he meant to conduct us to regeneration and to liberty. ‡‡ Besides, Cyrillus' whole life and the persecutions he suffered would remain inexplicable if he had not been led for good motives away from some points of belief in the Greek Church.

The correspondence attributed by the West to the Patriarch, has furnished arguments for the partisans of the authenticity of the Confession. ||| The letter he wrote

* *Confession*, ch. xiv.

† *Bouclier de la foi* or Synod of Jerusalem, decret. XVII.

‡ The Dutch Ambassador Cornelius Haga, who had assisted greatly in the publication of this important document, was better able than any other to reply to the sceptics. Also the instructions given the French Diplomacy to Holland, which had affected incredulity, leave no doubt of its truth. Allatius himself has so little doubt of it that he has no other resource than to assert that the Protestants "bought" Loukaris.

§ *Bouclier de la foi*, chap. i.

¶ As M. A. Pappadopoulos-Vrétos, *Littérature néo hellénique*.—Art. Loukaris.

** Kang, *La France protestante*, art. Aymon.—Herzog, *Theologische Encyclopædie*, art. Loukaris.

†† *Spectateur de l'Orient*, 1855. ‡‡ Renieris, *Cyrille Lucari*.

||| The inexactness of translation for which Aymon is blamed can readily be explained. The people of the West rarely understood modern Greek well. Besides, the taste was for free, not literal translation. Perrot d'Abancourt was their model with his "belles difficiles."

Professor Diodati, of Geneva, leaves no doubt upon this point, and gives by its frankness and energy a very different idea of him from that produced by the writers who accuse him of cowardliness.* Furthermore Cyrillus' letter shows us the men Rome had commissioned to convert the Greeks. "Until now," writes Loukaris, "I have written nothing for the public but this confession of faith which Dr. Léger has sent you. . . . Be assured, sir, I have written it with my own hand for the purpose of declaring to the whole world what I believe and what I publicly profess. . . . There have been many copies of it here in Constantinople, and my friends have begged me to attest its authenticity myself, and I have not refused, but at present copies are made daily which have no longer any need of my signature, for reasons I will now state. It was sufficient that my confession should be declared authentic by a Lord as Christian and full of integrity as H. E. the Ambassador Cornelius Haga; but there are wicked men who have raised I know not what objections to induce him to refuse his testimony; but to-day there remains no longer any pretext for favoring the calumny of these false men. According to my custom I went to visit the illustrious Count Marcheville who arrived some time ago in the quality of Ambassador of France. When I had expressed to him my joy at his safe return, and his Excellency had responded to my compliments, the Count drew from his portfolio my Confession and asked while showing it to me whether I was its author. Having recognized it, I replied it was the true exponent of my belief. His Excellency then showed me a letter from the Ambassador of the most Christian King of Rome. This letter

*Cyrillus, says the English author of "*The Greek Church*, ch. vii., was an extremely prudent man . . . and feared to teach too openly his faith." One of the most eminent critics in France, whom I have consulted, responds to my inquiries in these words: "Je pense que si les documents apportés par Aymon n'avaient pas été authentiques, on ne se serait pas donné tant de peines à Paris pour les ravoir (Fabricius *Bibliotheca Groeca*, X, 500); que l'on ne s'expose pas à la prison et à pis encore pour publier des documents faux avec la certitude que leur fausseté sera bientôt démontrée; qu'Aymon était de ces érudits, fanatiques d'éruditions, bien capables de commettre une indélicatesse, sinon un vol formel (vol, nié par Aymon dans la *Lettre Apologétique adressée à un théologien anonyme touchant divers écrits*," que le sieur Aymon doit faire imprimer, 1707, et les tribunaux hollandais lui donnèrent raison contre Clément) pour disposer librement de manuscrits importants, mais que cela est précisément une garantie contre l'hypothèse d'une falsification."

was in substance, that the Pope sent this Confession to the Ambassador whom he prayed to ask me whether it was really mine and if it was my purpose to continue in that belief. I then replied in an intrepid manner that it was my confession, that I had written it because such was my conviction and such were my sentiments, and such is the faith which I profess, and any one finding errors in it and wishing to convince me of them I will answer as a Christian and with a good conscience. His Excellency then had the Superior of the Capucins—established here—brought in, P. Archange, who has the reputation of being a pious man. His brother, M. de Fosse, is governor of Montpellier. I gave in his presence, making use of the same expressions, a recapitulation of all I had just said. . . . That is what occurred. I will now say, Your Reverence, that my confession needs no other proof of its authenticity. This authenticity will always be affirmed by those even who profess Papacy, for there were many other ecclesiastics, regular and secular, who came to speak to me with the agents of the Republic of Ragusa and asked if the confession was truly mine, and received the same reply as did the Ambassador of France."

Loukaris then adds that he consented to the confession being printed in Geneva, in order to give it all possible publicity. "We hope," he continues, "that God will aid us in making known to all the world, by more evident tokens, that we wish to have no communication with the Roman Church; because she is the mother of error, because she corrupts the Word of God and is the nest of superstition. . . . Let it then be published in the sight of heaven and earth that in all pertaining to religion, neither we nor the Greek Church wish to hold communion with the Papists."*

These protests against Rome were and are still the expression of the conviction of the Greeks; but Loukaris is far less accurate when he asserts at the close of his letter to Diodati, that this Confession "is also the doctrine of the Greek Church." After the decretals of the synod of Constantinople, of Jassy, of Jerusalem (or of Bethlehem), which were held after Cyrillus' death,† the Patriarch's

* Aymon, *Mon. Auth. de la rel. des Grecs*. Letters of the Patriarch Loukaris.

† J. Kimmel, *Monuments de la foi de l'Eglise orientale*, written in Latin, Jena, 1850.—Aymon, *Monuments Authentiques de la Religion des Grecques*.

assertion is difficult to understand. It is true that there had never been a nearer approach to an agreement with Rome in the East than in the Synod of Jerusalem, where the influence of Louis XIV. controlled the deliberations.* Before this period Loukaris asserted that all the superstitions of the Eastern Christians were borrowed from the Roman Church. "If the Greek Church," he said, "has some superstitions,—and she is not free from this blemish—I affirm in all sincerity that they have been derived from her contact with the Roman Church, which usually infects all she touches!† It is necessary then to treat her with gentle and slow remedies."

His position is not admitted as a fact by the majority of Western historians, whether born in Catholic or Protestant countries. They affirm that the same law which transformed Christianity in the Italy of Ambrosius and of Augustine, of necessity acted with no less power in Greece, in Asia-Minor and in Egypt. The instinct of the Southern races‡ has always led them to over-burden with ornament in accordance with their own imaginations the formerly very simple basis of Christianity. The severe spiritualism of the North will long appear to them an absence of religion. It is not so much to the influence of Rome as to their own peculiar temperament that these enthusiastic manifestations must be attributed. The rays of a sun which renders reflection almost impossible to the masses have done more than the policy of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. No doubt the Papacy knew how to use with consummate art the instincts which strengthened the ever living traditions of the ancient autocracy of the

* The learned author of *Cyrille Lucari ou l'Eglise grecque pendant la guerre de Trente ans*, who speaks so enthusiastically of this synod, gives some curious details upon this point: "France," he says, "being unable to endure our falling under the Calvinist's yoke, promoted, through the entire influence of her Ambassador, Oliver de Nointel, the solemn reunion of the Eastern Church and assisted Greece in raising that last barrier of faith against foreign propagandism." In a note M. R. is still more explicit; the good idea of Louis XIV. of assigning the mission to M. de Nointel of creating a demonstration of the Greek Church against Calvinism, was originated by the Jansenists of Port Royal.

† Loukaris seemed especially opposed to the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Letter to Antoine Léger, April 4th, 1635. In addition, he says "the word Transubstantiation pleases the ignorant greatly." Letter, March 6th, 1637.

‡ This is true in regard to the Indo-Europeans, not to the Semitic races.

Cæsars. But in Rome as elsewhere the priests were rather the slaves of superstition than the inventors of it.

It is needless to say that the people of the South * did not allow themselves to be disheartened by the theories called fatalistic.—They in no instance considered themselves condemned to eternal childishness and as incapable of all true progress in political as well as religious rights. They are not so much alarmed by those “impossibilities” † which dismayed Cyrillus. Mind, they say, has so many times conquered nature, that it is impossible to dispute its marvellous power. The Greece which in Loukaris’ time produced only ignorant monks, ‡ that country of Socrates, § of Plato and of Aristotle had she not again become to the Eastern peninsula a centre of light?

Cyrillus, after the issuing of a confession of faith, which increased the number of his enemies, seeing himself abandoned by Venice and even by England, felt the necessity for uniting himself with Gustavus Adolphus, who alone remained firm in the East after the Catholic restoration. The conqueror at Leipzig equally understood the need of creating for himself allies in Eastern Europe, for he had the project of removing Hungary from the Papacy by the aid of the reformed Magyars. He sent Paul Strasbourg to Constantinople in 1632 with letters to the Patriarch, the fame of which resounded then throughout the north of Europe and of which the celebrated Grotius (Hugo van Groot) constituted himself the editor. But when the King of Sweden succumbed at Lutzen, an agent of the Jesuits, Kontaris (Cyrillus II.), born in Berœa, Macedonia, was one of the Orientals who held that the two Catholic Churches disagreeing in only secondary matters would do

* It is too often forgotten that these people are not all Latins. Some are Pelasgians, as the Latins of the Pelasgic branch of the Aryan race. Such are the Greeks and the Albanians. Others belong to the Slavonic branch. Again others come from the Ibero-Ligurian race.

† “Si je pouvais réformer mon Eglise,” writes Cyrillus, “Je le ferais volontiers, mais Dieu sait que c’est parler d’impossibilités.”

‡ He writes to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, “We have become the most despicable of all people in having permitted the liberal arts to perish.”—Letter, March, 1616, and to Diodati: “The Greek Church is plunged into fathomless ignorance, the fault of our not having men of letters.”—Letter, April 15, 1632.

§ Cyrillus speaks in one of his letters of a Metropolitan from the city of Socrates, as a man very well disposed toward the reformed religion. Letter to Léger, March 10, 1636.

very wrong in not combining against the Protestants.* The Patriarch Simeon I., who leaned toward Rome, had appointed Kontaris Bishop of Berœa when he finished his studies at the college which the company of Jesuits had founded at Galata. When Loukaris succeeded Simeon I. Kontaris, educated in a school of dissimulating policy, so soon gained the confidence of the new Patriarch that he intrusted to him the administration of the Archbishopric of Thessalonica during the vacancy of the See, and sent him afterward to Russia to collect alms to be sent to the "Great Church." This latter mission enriched the disciple of the Jesuits whom Loukaris, notwithstanding his moderation, called a hypocrite.† Generally the pacific Patriarch had not much esteem for the Romanized Oriental. "George Korresis," he says, "having failed as a physician, which was his profession, has become a mercenary and a parasite infamous and unworthy to contend for the true doctrine of our L. J. C. and the doctrine of all the Orthodox Doctors. . . . Although his master is Bellarmine he professes to be no Papist."‡ And it may be further said, without falsehood and conscientiously, that at the foundation he is a true Epicurean, who believes in nothing."§ Men of this character were determined to dare all to serve their patrons. Kontaris, sustained by the French Ambassador, bought from the Turks the Patriarchal dignity¶ and deposed Loukaris. But this

* This argument was sustained by Leon Allatius, and has been held in our times by the Père Gagarine, *La Russie sera-t-elle catholique*, and by Jean Pitziopios, *L'Eglise orientale, Exposé historique de sa séparation et de sa réunion avec celle de Rome. Accord perpétuel de ces deux Eglises d'après les dogmes de la foi*, etc., Rome, 1856, Propaganda (since then the author's opinions have changed). The Galitzine family has also given a theologian to this school, Dimitri Galitzini, author of *Défense des principes catholiques*. Prince Augustine Galitzini translated the latter from English into French.

† Letter to A. Léger, July 16, 1635.

‡ This dissimulation was always carefully recommended the adherents of Rome. "To save appearances," wrote the Jesuits of Wilna, "controversy must not be neglected with the Western Church, and other means must be used in order to cover every trace of your enterprise and to blind not only the people but also the nobles. . . . Those who fear the elephants, let them avoid wearing red garments."—Krasinski, *Hist. relig. des nations slaves*, 1851.

§ Letter to A. Léger, June 17, 1636.

¶ "He used the sacred money," writes Aymon, "the alms collected in Russia, to buy the Patriarchate." J. Aymon, *Mou. Auth. de la rel. des Grecs, Dissertations préliminaires*.

Coup d'Etat was premature. Cyrillus reinstated on the Patriarchal throne, compelled the Count de Marcheville to pay dearly for the aid he had given his adversary. Profiting adroitly by the misunderstanding existing between Austria and France owing to the Thirty Years War, he robbed them of the Holy Places over which these two powers were disputing. This was Cyrillus' last triumph. Twice superseded by Patellarios (Athanasius III.,) to whom succeeded Kontaris (Cyrillus II.,) "who paid to the Grand Vizier the sum of 50,000 crowns which the Jesuits had given him," * then Neophyte of Heracleus (Neophyte III.) Cyrillus, after the death of his friend, Neophyte, again ascended the throne for the last time in 1637.

But these frequent destitutions seemed only to multiply Loukaris' victories. The Jesuits purposed taking advantage of his exile at Khios to remove him to Rome, where possibly the stake of Arnould of Brescia, of Savonorola and of Giordano Bruno awaited him. "These false men," wrote the Patriarch to Antoine Léger, "perceive very clearly that they cannot conquer while I live, this is why they have set so many traps for me which I cannot describe in a letter. The most diabolical of these was to form an agreement with the Emperor's † agent and some other magistrates to have me removed by the corsairs taking me by sea ‡ to Rome.

"This would have occurred had not those who accompanied me discovered the pernicious plot. One of them was the Bishop, who has written your Reverence. This traitor and hypocrite was the chief of the conspiracy. But God released me and delivered me wholly from the hands of those perfidious men." ||

In the following century when the Jesuits undertook the "conversion" of the Arminians, having found another Loukaris in the Patriarch Avedick, they entered into an arrangement with the French Ambassador, M. de Ferriot, to have him removed from Khios. He was never heard of

* J. Aymon, *Ibid.*

† Ferdinand II.

‡ Going from Constantinople to Khios, "at which point he was delivered from his enemies by the Vice-Admiral of the sea, his old friend Bechued-pasha, who had him brought to Rhodes under the protection of a strong guard of reliable men."—Letter of the Ambassador Haga to Diodati, June 26, 1695, Aymon, *Monuments*, 79.

|| Letter to A. Léger, from Rhodes, April 26, 1635.

afterwards.* Probably he could have been found buried in one of those deep fosses of Italy where for seven years the famous Dominican, Thomas Campanella, was made to atone by torture for the double crime of philosophy and patriotism.

Calumny was a surer measure to the Jesuits than the boldness of pirates. When the Cossacks took possession of Azoff the terror was universal at Constantinople. The ravages committed by these terrible soldiers several years before on the banks of the Bosphorus, were all recalled. The Grand Vizier was warned that Loukaris, who had been accused of negotiations with them, had sent them forth against the walls of Azoff, and that he would soon induce the Greeks to join them. Baïram-Pasha dared not assume the responsibility of commanding his death. He sent a courier to the Padishah, who at once made war upon the Persians. The ferocious Mourad IV., who brought the Ottoman power to such a height, stupefied by wine and debauch, elated by his victories, attached no value to the life of the Christian Priest. He ordered the Patriarch's death. The Grand Vizier did not think it advisable to hang him publicly, clothed in his sacerdotal insignia like the Patriarch Gregory, who was put to death in 1821, but he was embarked as if merely being sent into exile. When a short distance from the shore the Janizaries made preparations to kill him.† The holy old man, naked from the knees, and like the martyr Stephen, Greek like himself, and like him the victim‡ of fanaticism, committed his executioners to God's mercy. This was on the 7th of June, 1638. He was sixty-six years of age. His body, thrown into the sea, was found by some fishermen, who buried it. But the men who had scattered to the winds the ashes of John Huss, did not care to leave his corpse in peace. It was disinterred and again cast into the sea; the waves, more charitable than his persecutors, gave it into friendly hands, by the care of which he at last found repose in a

* These are not isolated instances in the history of the Eastern Church. Many more singular details are found in Aymon, *Mon.*, etc. Remarks upon the sixth letter of the Patriarch Loukaris.

† The Counsel of Jerusalem although controlled by his enemies, yet does homage to "his well known piety."

‡ An English writer of the XVIII century speaks of his death as martyrdom.—Thomas Smith, *Brevis et succincta narratio de vita, studiis gestis et martyro de Cyrilli Lucaris, patr. Constant.*

tomb on the borders of one of the Islands of Nicomedia. *
 The Sublime Porte had well earned its 50,000 crowns. †
 The Greek Church gives to Cyrillus, as to Photius, the
 title of σοφώτατος. ‡

DORA D'ISTRIA.

* R. Cyrille Lucari ou l' Eglise grecque pendant la guerre de trente ans.

† Hammer, *Hist. de l' Empire Ottoman*, Book 48. The ancient crown was of the value of 6 francs 18 centimes, of French money.

‡ Khiotis *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*.

(To be continued in the July Number.)

THE ANCIENT EVENING HYMN OF THE
ANTE-NECENE CHURCH.

Joyful Light of holy Day,
Shining with the FATHER's Ray,
JESU CHRIST, the Undeiled,
Blest, Immortal, Holy, Mild :

Thee with reverent voice, our King,
SON of GOD, we ever sing ;
Giver of our Life on high,
Thee the world shall glorify.

We, who see the sunset bright,
Gazing on the evening light,
Praise GOD, with the heavenly host,
FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST.

J. ANKETELL.

REMINISCENCES OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

Although I had been previously acquainted with Mr. Webster, I was first brought into personal and intimate relations with him on assuming the rectorship of Trinity Church, Washington, in the spring of 1847. He resided in the neighborhood of the church, but had not been connected with it, and was in the habit, as I understood, of attending irregularly, sometimes the Church of the Epiphany in the west part of the city, and at other times the Unitarian church, within a few doors of his residence on Louisiana Avenue. Soon after my arrival Mr. and Mrs. Webster became regular members and communicants in Trinity Church. Not being able to secure a pew at that time, Mr. Webster availed himself of the invitation of his friend, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, to share that which he occupied. This he continued to do, I believe, until the removal of the congregation to the new Trinity Church, at the corner of Third and C Streets, when he obtained a pew in the middle aisle. It was a singularity of his position in the latter church—which some may consider an illustration of his position between two political extremes—that the pew immediately before him was occupied by the uncompromising opponent of slavery, alike in the States

and Territories, Mr. Gamaliel Bailey, the pure-hearted and gifted editor of the *National Era*, and that Jacob Thompson, subsequently Secretary of the Interior, occupied a pew in close proximity behind him.

In the old Trinity Church at that time, and for a few succeeding years, there was gathered regularly, Sunday after Sunday, a group of statesmen than whom none more illustrious have adorned the annals of our country.

There were Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, Mr. Seward, Gen. John A. Dix, Mr. Winthrop, and Judge Berrien, of Georgia, all of whom were communicants in the church. Besides these, there were several other men conspicuous at that time—among them Mr. Mangum, of North Carolina, and Mr. King, of Alabama, Mr. Dickinson, of New York, the devout and amiable but intensely Southern Senator, Mr. Barnwell, of South Carolina, and occasionally his fiery kinsman, Barnwell Rhett. All these were living in the neighborhood of the church or upon Capitol Hill. At that time the majority of members of Congress resided in the eastern part of the city, and the centres of political and Congressional life and movement, now fixed at Willard's and the Albemarle Hotel in the western part of the city, were the National and Metropolitan Hotels, and the old Capitol building, in which Mr. Calhoun died, and which was a favorite hostelry for Southern Congressmen.

Some striking scenes took place in that old Trinity Church, which are impressed vividly on my memory. I will mention but two of them. In the course of the week immediately preceding a communion Sunday, a very animated and acrimonious debate had taken place in the Senate, in which Mr. Clay had referred to an outspoken and violent speech of Mr. Rhett, and with characteristic vehemence had declared that the author of such treasonable sentiments deserved a halter. It so happened that after all the communicants but two had partaken of the sacrament, these two persons left their pews in the same aisle and knelt side by side at the chancel rail. They were Mr. Clay and Mr. Rhett. I need not say how suggestive and impressive was the incident, and how humiliating, in all probability, the passionate contest in which they had been engaged must have seemed to them, as they knelt together to confess their sins and to pray for purification.

I recall another incident in connection with Mr. Web-

ster's great speech of the 7th of March, 1850, on the Compromise measures. It was at a most critical crisis in the history of the country that the speech was to be delivered, and intense anxiety and curiosity prevailed to learn what position Mr. Webster would take on this momentous occasion. There is reason to suppose that Mr. Webster himself not only realized his great responsibility in the matter, but that he was somewhat doubtful of the precise position which he should take, up to the morning of the very day on which the speech was delivered. I was accustomed to have a lecture service on a week-day evening in the church ; and on the evening immediately preceding the delivery of that speech, I was surprised to see Mr. Webster, for the first, and as it subsequently proved, the only time, at that service with Mrs. Webster. I do not remember precisely what was the subject of my lecture ; but I have a distinct recollection of having been struck at the time with its appropriateness to the circumstances in which Mr. Webster was then placed. I fancied, too, that he looked worn and anxious ; and the inference was a natural one that, having a very solemn duty to perform, and one surrounded on every side by perplexing and inflammable issues, he felt that he could best prepare for its right discharge by seeking strength and guidance in the house of God.

I shall be pardoned for referring to the fact that Mr. Webster, in that speech, quoted from a sermon which I had delivered on the preceding Sunday, because it will illustrate that supreme mastery of pure English style by which he improved and adorned everything which he touched. In one part of the sermon, from the text, "I will guide with mine eye" (Psalm 32 : 8), I had treated of the necessity we are often under of acting promptly in cases of really or seemingly conflicting duties. In that connection I made the following remark : "Now, in the circumstances which I have described, fanaticism takes some one duty, and mounts it as if it were a war-horse, and, sword in hand, charges into the midst of all other duties, as if they were its true and only enemies, and counts itself heroic and victorious." This is the sentence in the sermon ; and the following is the form which it assumed in the hands of Mr. Webster : "As I heard it stated strongly not many days ago, these persons are disposed to mount upon some particular duty,

as upon a war-horse, and to drive on and upon and over all other duties that may stand in their way."

The speech was a great one in itself—one of the grandest that he ever made ; but the crisis was so momentous that the chief interest of the public was concentrated on the position he assumed and the policy he recommended. That he should have argued that it was not needful to extend the Wilmot Proviso to California and New Mexico, because nature had made slavery impossible in those Territories ; and, above all, that he should have sanctioned the Fugitive Slave Law of Mr. Mason, of Virginia, which demanded more than the Constitution required, and that he should have urged the full and faithful performance of all its repulsive provisions, was regarded by most of his friends in the North as an abandonment of his principles and those of his party, and as a shameful concession to the imperious demand of the slave power. Ambitious and unworthy motives were freely imputed to him. A distinguished Northern statesman, his close friend, assured me that the speech was a complete surprise to himself and friends, who supposed there was a perfect understanding with Mr. Webster that he was to take the opposite ground on both these issues ; and that he had been induced to change his position through the alarming representations of an intimate friend, a Southern Senator, who, in an interview protracted through nearly all the night preceding the delivery of the speech, depicted the awful consequences likely to follow a refusal to make these concessions to the exasperated South ; and skilfully added the suggestion that this patriotic sacrifice to the peace of the country would result in his advancement to the Presidential chair. That Mr. Webster was thoroughly alarmed lest secession should be attempted, the solemn tone of his speech unmistakably attests, and his familiar conversation with friends at that time places beyond all doubt ; but that he was induced by the bribe of promised advancement to the Presidency to advocate measures inconsistent with what duty to the country demanded of him, I cannot bring myself for a moment to believe. If at that crisis he was made to feel, by his midnight conference with his Southern friend, that the refusal of the demands of the South would result in secession, and that this awful catastrophe could be avoided by sacrifices and concessions which, though unpalatable to him-

self and his party, would be far less disastrous than secession with inevitable war, he cannot be blamed for acting upon that conviction, because it was suggested also that another great benefit would probably accrue to the country in his advancement to the Presidential chair. How much this last suggestion may have had to do with leading—or misleading—Mr. Webster to the conviction that the refusal of the North to yield to the demands of the South would result in secession and war, cannot of course be known; but there can be no reasonable doubt on the part of those who were familiar with his views at that time that such *was* his conviction.

This conviction of Mr. Webster was shared by many eminent men, and his speech, and the immense influence of his character and his transcendent ability, made many converts in New England itself to his view of the absolute necessity, to the preservation of peace, of the policy which he recommended. Mr. Curtis, his biographer, and Mr. Everett do not hesitate to declare that Mr. Webster saved the country from secession and war; and it was in consideration of this pre-eminent service that a convention of Whigs in Massachusetts presented him as a candidate for the Presidency.

In the light of subsequent events it may well be doubted whether the postponement of inevitable war, after a decade of bitter dissension, and the enormous increase of the slave power, both in its own resources and in its influence upon many minds in the North, was a real advantage. But it seemed then to many, and it was the hope if not the conviction of more, that what has proved only a postponement of the war would be a final extinction of all the burning questions which had constantly threatened to burst forth into flames that would destroy the fair fabric of the Union.

The story of the midnight visit of the Southern Senator I had at the time from more than one source. But there is a passage in Mr. Curtis' life of Mr. Webster which seems to confute the statement that his Northern friends had assurances, implicit or explicit, that he would contend for the Wilmot Proviso, and resist the proposed Fugitive Slave Bill in its then form; or that he had doubts or misgivings as to the course that he should pursue. This passage is found in a private letter of Mr. Webster to Mr. Haven, dated September 12th, six months after the speech of the 7th of March, in which

he details the circumstances under which he resolved to adopt the policy defined in the speech, and which he afterward followed up with unfaltering energy. Mr. Webster writes : " Yet long before his death [Gen. Taylor's] . . . I made up my mind to risk myself on a proposition for general pacification. I resolved to push my skiff from the shore alone, considering in that case, if she foundered, there would be but one life lost. Our friend Harvey happened to be here, and with him and Mr. Edward Curtis I held a little council the evening before the speech." *

I do not know how to reconcile or account for these conflicting statements—on the one hand the explicit statement of my distinguished friend, only second in reputation and equal in character to Mr. Webster himself ; and on the other this equally explicit statement of Mr. Webster, that his policy, as subsequently adopted and pursued, was definitely determined before the death of President Taylor. An explanation which may relieve both the accounts of inconsistency, or at least of conscious or unconscious misrepresentation, may perhaps be found in the expression, " a proposition for general pacification." Mr. Webster may then have resolved to risk himself on *a* proposition of pacification, but it may not have been such an one as would have sanctioned or acquiesced in *such* a Fugitive Slave Law as that proposed by Mr. Mason, of Virginia, and which was ultimately enacted. That some of the provisions of that bill were unsatisfactory to him, when he was in the Senate, was freely avowed by him, and further appears from the fact that he himself prepared another bill, in which provision was made that an alleged fugitive slave should have the benefit of trial by jury. Mr. Webster, having for six months subsequent to his speech of the 7th of March emphatically vindicated and enforced *all* the legislation which had followed after he had left the Senate, in which were many additional provisions obnoxious to Northern sentiment, may have confounded his earlier determination to risk himself on a proposition for general pacification of a much less pronounced pro-Southern character than the series of measures which he subsequently sustained with a vehemence which shows that, in avoiding radical fanaticism, one may easily fall into an equally passionate and extreme fanatical conser-

* Life, vol ii., p. 474.

vatism. However this be, the statement, in his letter that he held "council" with his friends Mr. Harvey and Mr. Curtis—the purport and conclusions of which are not announced—is not inconsistent with the statement that he was present for a single hour at my early evening service, and that later he had an interview—the midnight colloquy—after the departure of his two "friends in council"—with the Whig Southern Senator, with whom he was very intimate, who was known to have great influence with him, and whom he was accustomed to see—for the Senator's boarding-house was next door but one to Mr. Webster's residence—at all hours and in a very informal way.

In confirmation of the statement that Mr. Webster suddenly changed his mind as to the policy that he would recommend in his speech of the 7th of March, it has been remarked that the whole argument leads up to the conclusion that the Wilmot Proviso *should be* made a condition of the admission of California and New Mexico, and that when it is to be applied it suddenly *deflects* from that conclusion to the opposite one, that it should *not* be applied to them, because it was not necessary, and would needlessly wound the susceptibilities of the South. The argument is conducted with a scrupulous, and under the circumstances most commendable, care to say nothing offensive to either section of the country; but as an argument, and as a personal exposition of his position in the past, it would seem to lead to the conviction that he was about to insist upon the exclusion of slavery from California and New Mexico. No one would for a moment suppose it possible that Mr. Webster could carefully prepare a speech in which the conclusion would be contradictory to the premises; but it is possible—and that is all that he did—that he might argue, whether wisely or not is not here the question, that it was not necessary nor expedient that the strictly logical conclusion should in this instance be enforced.

How solemn and impassioned and, alas! prophetic were some of the concluding sentences of this magnificent speech: "I hear with distress and anguish the word 'secession,' especially when it falls from the lips of those that are patriotic and known to the country, and known all over the world for their political services. Secession! peaceable secession! *Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle!* The dismember-

ment of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep without ruffling the surface! Who is so foolish—I beg everybody's pardon!—as to expect to see any such thing? Sir, he who now sees these States revolving in harmony around a common centre, and expects to see them quit their places and fly off without convulsion, may look the next hour to see the heavenly bodies rush from their spheres and jostle against each other in the realms of space without causing the wreck of the universe. There can be no such thing as a peaceable secession. Peaceable secession is an utter impossibility. No, sir! no, sir! I will not state what might produce a disruption of the Union; but, sir, I see as plainly as I see the sun in heaven what that disruption itself must produce; I see that it must produce *war*, and such a war as I will not describe in its twofold character."

The address of Mr. Webster on the laying of the corner-stone of the addition to the Capitol, on the 4th of July, 1851, while it contains passages thoroughly Websterian, has not the completeness and unity which mark some of his other productions on similar occasions. It has the characteristics of a speech rather than of a rounded oration. But it is within my personal knowledge that it was produced under great disadvantages. Mr. Webster was then laboring under a summer attack to which he was subject, and the great heat of the season and an unusual pressure of duty led him to postpone the preparation of his address until very near the time of its delivery. He stated these facts to me, and some dates, to which I will here refer, prove that he must have devoted a very short space of time to the preparation of that discourse.

On the 22d of June I preached a sermon on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and in the Colonies of Great Britain. The Episcopal churches throughout the world had been requested to commemorate this anniversary by appropriate services and the delivery of sermons in reference to its work.

In the course of my sermon on that occasion I quoted the well-known lines of Bishop Berkeley:

" Westward the course of empire takes its way ;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day ;
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

Mr. Webster was present at the delivery of this discourse. On the morning of the 2d of July I received from him a note, which lies before me, of which the following is a copy :

" July 2, '51.

" MY DEAR SIR : I must beg leave to solicit you to give me information on two points, viz. What year did Bishop Berkeley write his stanza on America, and where did he then live ?

" What was the aggregate of the population of the colonies in the U. S. in that year ?

" Yours truly,

" D. WEBSTER.

" Rev'd Dr. BUTLER."

I was somewhat surprised at the latter question ; but it so happened that before preparing my sermon I had been permitted by Mr. Peter Force to read in his library many anniversary sermons preached before the society and in its behalf in London, and was therefore able to answer both his questions. When I sent my reply to this note to Mr. Webster, I begged to call his attention to one of those anniversary sermons which Mr. Force had kindly allowed me to take from his library. It was a sermon by the Bishop of St. Asaph, delivered, I believe, twelve years before our Declaration of Independence, which struck me as a wonderful instance of philosophical insight and prophetic sagacity. It expressed the conviction that the American colonies would ultimately form " such a powerful state as may introduce a new and important change in human affairs ;" that not only would it abound in physical blessings, but that it would " make advances in civil government and the conduct of life ;" that probably some of the evils and vices of the then constitution of society might be removed, and that the condition of the lower classes might be improved. Coming from an English bishop of that period, when Church dignitaries were of all men least likely to get beyond conventionalities and traditions, the passage is certainly very remarkable.

This note and sermon were sent on the morning of the 2d of July, and on the morning of the 4th the oration was delivered. My surprise was great to find that the whole of the long passage to which I had called Mr. Webster's attention was incorporated in the early part of the address. It is possible, of course, that some other portions of it had been written, as they had no doubt

been meditated before ; but it was my conviction at the time that he did not sit down to put together and prepare his discourse for the press until the 2d of July.

Mr. Webster was in no fit condition to deliver an address of an hour in length to an audience of thousands in the open air. He was quite indisposed, and was lying on a sofa in the Senate chamber—Mrs. Webster and a few friends being with him there—during the preliminary proceedings. When he commenced his address, and during its delivery, it was evident that he was making the greatest effort to reach the usual high level of his oratory on such occasions, and that he often fell below the mark. In consequence of this languor, followed by spasmodic exhibitions of energy, surmises and suggestions were made—and cruel they were in the circumstances in which Mr. Webster was placed !—to the effect that he had been drinking too much, and that this was the cause of his failure to reach his usual point of energy and impressiveness in the utterance of his address ! The charge was utterly without foundation. As chaplain of the Senate at that time, I opened the proceedings with prayer and occupied a place on the platform close by Mr. Webster, and know that the imputation had no shadow of truth. Another remark, made to me by a member of Congress with whom I walked after the ceremonies were over, amused me not a little. He called my attention to the quotation from the Bishop of St. Asaph as an illustration of the wide range of Mr. Webster's reading.

The visit of Kossuth to Washington while Mr. Webster was Secretary of State led to some interesting scenes in connection with the latter which fell under my observation. Much interest was naturally felt in this country in the Hungarian struggle for independence, and in the great patriot and orator who had been mainly instrumental in rousing the population and in directing the revolutionary movement. When that movement was put down by the Austrian Government, and Kossuth was permitted to reside in Turkey, that interest was increased by the romantic career and the misfortunes of the eloquent orator and patriot. It was through the initiative and agency of Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, that Kossuth was brought to this country. In his speech at the Kossuth Congressional banquet, Mr. Webster said : " In a letter dated February last, moved by

considerations which have influenced all the Christian world, making no particular merit of it, I addressed a letter to the American minister at Constantinople at the court of the Sublime Porte for the relief of M. Louis Kossuth and his companions in exile ; and I happen to know that that letter was not without some effect. At any rate, it is proper for me to state that this letter, and that one to which I have before alluded, were dispatched with the cordial approbation of the President of the United States. It was therefore so far the act of the Government of the United States in its executive capacity."

Mr. Kossuth therefore was in a real sense the guest of the nation, through the sympathy and agency of the Government of the United States. It was therefore peculiarly incumbent upon him that he should abstain from all proceedings which would tend to embarrass the Government, to whose good offices he was so much indebted. But from the moment that he landed on our shores he was greeted with a perfect *furor* of admiration and enthusiasm. Mr. Curtis designates the excitement which then prevailed as "The Hungarian Whirlwind." It was natural that he should mistake its meaning, and infer that he might direct it as a pressure upon the Government to induce it to intervene in behalf of the independence of Hungary. But it can scarcely be regarded as a generous and grateful return for the favor that he had received through the Government, and the sympathy and enthusiasm which had greeted him, that he should at once, without consulting Mr. Webster or the President, have directed his eloquent and stirring appeals to the people to organize, and contribute, and collect means to stimulate and sustain a revolutionary movement in a country with which we were at peace. Before M. Kossuth's arrival in Washington, the subject had engaged the attention of Mr. Webster and the President, and the course which they should pursue had been definitely determined. It is clearly indicated by Mr. Webster, in a letter to a friend on the 23d of December, in which he said : "It requires great caution so to conduct things here, when M. Kossuth shall arrive, as to keep clear both of Scylla and Charybdis. We shall treat him with respect, but shall give him no encouragement that the established policy of the country will be in any degree departed from." Very soon after his arrival, M. Kossuth met

with that reception from Mr. Webster which the latter had announced to Mr. Blatchford would be given—on the one hand to himself as an eminent individual, and on the other to his projects of intervention: "I shall treat him with all personal and individual respect, but if he should speak to me of the policy of 'intervention,' I shall 'have ears more deaf than adders.' I go with him to the President to-morrow. The President has invited him to dine on Saturday."

It was on the last day of the year that a formal presentation of M. Kossuth to the President by Mr. Webster took place. On that occasion the reply of Mr. Fillmore to M. Kossuth's address, while it was extremely courteous and sympathetic, was yet perfectly explicit in declaring that the Government could lend no sanction to measures whose design was to foster and aid a revolutionary movement against a friendly power. That declaration was made under circumstances which I will presently describe, and which were well calculated to render M. Kossuth uncomfortable, and, so far as he was open to such an emotion, to add self-reproach to his great disappointment.

Accordingly, M. Kossuth was in no amiable mood during his visit to Washington. He was reserved and moody, and received the attentions that were lavished upon him with a *distrain* and dissatisfied air, and with a scant return of courtesy. It so happened that I chanced to make my New Year's call on Mr. and Mrs. Webster at the moment that M. Kossuth and his party entered. He stood apart from the few guests that were then present, and his whole bearing threw a chill and restraint over the circle. I remarked to Mrs. Webster that her illustrious guest seemed to be in an unsocial mood; and she replied that when she had attempted to open conversation with him by remarking upon the brightness of the day, he replied that he took no interest in the weather—that his mind was absorbed in painful thoughts about his country—and the conversation, naturally enough, proceeded no further.

I think it was on the following day that the President gave a dinner to M. Kossuth, to which General Scott and the Cabinet and a few other public men, and to which also I and my wife were invited. As we were about to proceed to the reception-room we encountered Mr. and Mrs. Webster, and at the suggestion of the latter Mrs.

Webster took my arm, and he gave his own to my wife. As we were about to move in this order, a servant announced that M. Kossuth was immediately behind us, whereupon Mr. Webster turned to welcome him, announcing to his wife at the same moment—against her remonstrances, for she felt that he had been rude to her—that we must change “the order of our going,” and that she must take M. Kossuth’s arm. During and after dinner the bearing of the guest in behalf of whom the banquet had been given was stately and constrained. It was evident that he felt sore and angry. He stood apart after dinner, in a manner which repelled attempts to enter into conversation with him. His whole appearance, alike by his picturesque costume and his attitude and expression, suggested a moody Hamlet, whom neither man nor woman pleased. After a vain attempt to engage him in conversation on Hungarian topics, I asked Mr. Fillmore what had happened to his illustrious guest to have thrown him into such an evidently ungenial state of feeling. He said it was in consequence of what had occurred at his presentation. Mr. Fillmore told me that there had been an explicit understanding with M. Kossuth, through his secretary, that there was to be no allusion in his speech, upon being presented, to the subject of aid or intervention on the part of the Government of the United States, in behalf of the party in Hungary that aimed to secure its independence of Austria, and that he had prepared his reply on the assumption that such would be the character of the address. His surprise was therefore great when M. Kossuth in his address invoked that aid, and expressed the hope that it would be given. The President was compelled, on the spur of the moment, to omit what he had prepared to say, and to declare to him, with perfect courtesy, but with equal explicitness, that nothing like sanction, much less material aid, for the cause of the independence of Hungary could be given by the Government of the United States. The reply was admirable, and could not have been improved had Mr. Fillmore anticipated the tenor of Kossuth’s address and prepared his answer. It was courteous, yet extremely dignified and decided. Indeed, it may be regarded as fortunate that an occasion so conspicuous occurred for proclaiming at home and to foreign states that the policy of the Government was then, as it had always been,

that of absolute non-intervention in the affairs of European nations.

Mr. Webster, who presented M. Kossuth to the President, wrote on the same day to a friend that "Mr. Fillmore received him with great propriety, and his address was all right : sympathy, personal respect and kindness, but no departure from our established policy." I inferred from Mr. Fillmore's animated description of the scene that he regarded it as an unfair attempt to entrap him into some expression or some omission which might seem to countenance M. Kossuth's cherished hope of inducing the Government to give both its moral and material aid to renew the struggle for Hungarian independence. It is not strange that he should have passionately desired such a result ; but it was a singular delusion to suppose it possible that our Government would enter upon the quixotic career of making the United States the armed champion of European nationalities struggling for liberty and independence.

At the Congressional dinner given to M. Kossuth his reception was most enthusiastic. In common with all the audience, I was completely entranced by his singularly captivating eloquence. I was assigned a seat next to Mr. Seward, and his demonstrations of applause by hands and feet and voice were excessive. The "Hungarian Whirlwind" certainly carried away everything on that occasion, and mingled all parties into one confused mass of admirers prostrate at Kossuth's feet. The speech seemed to me wanting in no element of a consummate masterpiece of eloquence. The orator's picturesque appearance, his Archaic English style, his vibrant and thrilling voice, and his skilfully selected and arranged topics, all concurred in the production of an effect upon his audience such as I have never seen surpassed. As addressed to American statesmen, it exhibited—what was very rare among foreigners—a perfect understanding of our Government, as the union of separate States with their autonomy in a given sphere, under a general constitution. His eulogium of this arrangement, and his description of its adaptation and its probable adoption by various nationalities in Europe, was very skilful. The union of Germany in one empire may be regarded by some as the first step toward that confederated German republic which he foretold.

It was doubtful up to the last moment before Mr. Web-

ster's appearance, whether he would come and make a speech on that occasion. When he appeared Mr. Seward's exultation was unbounded, and his caution in speaking of it to me less perhaps than it would have been had Mr. Webster appeared before the dinner. He told me that Mr. Webster had been reluctant to come, and that he had made him do so. Mr. Seward's manner and remarks in reference to this matter did not strike me pleasantly. The speech which Mr. Webster made, as we now read it, seems very appropriate to the occasion and to his own position ; but his manner was constrained, and after the high pitch of enthusiasm to which the audience had been wrought up, it fell rather heavily upon them, and did not give that measure of encomium of M. Kossuth which their feelings at the moment craved. But Mr. Webster spoke to an audience many of whom were bitter political foes or alienated friends, and his recent experience in connection with M. Kossuth, while it had not diminished his admiration of his brilliant ability, had convinced him that, though matchless as an orator, he was no statesman. Moreover, his position as Secretary of State made it incumbent upon him to speak with great caution. If there was an intention on the part of Mr. Seward to entrap Mr. Webster into any compromising declarations by which his influence or his prospects might be injured, it was not successful. The speech might not be vehemently admired ; it could not be justly condemned.

A few days after Mr. Webster's journey through New York, which he made in company with Mr. Fillmore and at his urgent instance, in the summer of 1851, Mr. Webster made a call upon me on his way to the State Department. During his journey he had made ten or twelve speeches in rapid succession. As he was descending the stairs I said to him, " Mr. Webster, they worked you rather hard in demanding so many speeches during this warm weather !" I vividly recall his appearance as he suddenly paused and said : " Don't you believe a word of it, Doctor ! I have done all my hard work, and I do not work hard now, and do not intend to !" And then with a quizzical look, which seemed to imply that he had caught me at it, he added : " My dear Doctor, I imagine you sometimes take an old sermon and put a new text to it, and put in something that refers to a recent time ; and it goes off just as well as if it were new.

That is about all I did in the matter. I made substantially but one speech with variations." And yet this series of speeches is referred to by Mr. Everett as a remarkable proof of the mental vigor and resources of Mr. Webster, in the midst of physical weakness and the exhaustion of travel, and of incessant and distracting engagements. I added that, after such an experience as he had recently passed through, Marshfield would prove very refreshing. He turned around, and with that remarkable smile which was all the sweeter because of the usual majesty of the expression of his features in repose, he replied, "Yes, Doctor, I am going to inhale the breath of the oxen!"

In the sermon on Mr. Webster which I delivered in Trinity Church, Washington, on the 7th of November, I made the following statement of his religious position, which I find to be fully confirmed by the elaborate biography of Mr. Curtis and the affectionate Reminiscences of his bosom friend, Mr. Harvey. "Of the entire system of religious opinions entertained by Mr. Webster, I have no authority to speak. But in the conversations which I had with him on religious subjects, his sentiments on several topics have been freely expressed. His preference for the Episcopal Church rested chiefly on his admiration for its Liturgy and its general conservative character. He had no sympathy with, but rather a profound conviction of the folly of that churchmanship which stands with its face to the past and its back to the future. He loved best the preaching that was plain, earnest, affectionate, personal, and expository, rather than that which was general and discursive. His conversation was always supposed by me to proceed upon the admission on his part of what are called the distinctive and evangelical truths of the Gospel. I have known his emphatic approbation to have been given to sermons in which these truths were distinctly expressed."

In the same discourse I have mentioned the fact that he once sketched for me a series of sermons on the text, "God is a spirit," with a view to mark out the line within which outward forms were helpful, and beyond which they became impediments to spiritual feeling and worship. But Mr. Webster especially relished the ethical preaching, which would help men in their ordinary life-work, and enable them to feel thus that they had a

great vocation, whatever that work might be. On a Monday morning after I had preached a sermon on the text, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called"—in which I showed that Christianity did not come to break up, but rather to sanctify and elevate all human callings which were not immoral in themselves or in their inevitable results—Mr. Webster expressed his gratification at the sermon and *at that kind of preaching*. He was quite emphatic in the statement of his conviction that a large proportion of preaching should be of that kind.

I remember a rainy evening on which I called upon Mr. Webster and had him all to myself, when he was in one of his best moods for talk. He suggested on that occasion a sermon or series of sermons on the text, "There is one Lawgiver." I told him—what I deeply felt—that I was quite unequal to the proper treatment of such a theme. Moreover, although I did not say this, I was sure that in deductions from the great truth of the text, which I should make if I took it in hand, I should reach conclusions that would not be satisfactory to him. The ground which Mr. Webster had taken in his speech of the 7th of March had started among theologians and moral teachers the great question of the degree of obedience which should be rendered to the laws of the state when they came in conflict with the individual conscience. Although he very much objected to the political preaching which dealt with practical party questions, however much moral considerations might be involved in them, he was by no means averse to the treatment in the pulpit of the *principles* which should guide men in their relation to the state, as well as in their relation to the family and the Church. His position in reference to the duty of all citizens actively to obey the law for the rendition of fugitive slaves, led him to welcome and applaud the letter of Professor Stuart and the sermons of many preachers who at that time carried the obligation of duty to laws which violated the individual conscience, to what seemed to me then, and seems to me now, an indefensible extreme. Mr. Webster's position, advanced to its legitimate logical limit, seemed to me not only a denial of private judgment, but to lead to the crushing out of conscience under the pressure of a lower law. The Constitution seemed to have become in his view the higher and only law for the citizen. In

one respect the demand made upon the obedience of the citizen of a republic seemed to me stronger than that made by the Lauds and Mainwarings, and other subservient bishops and divines of the days of Charles I. They enjoined *passive obedience* in the case of laws which violated conscience—*i.e.*, a voluntary and unresisting sufferance of the penalty of disobedience or non-obedience when they could not obey. But the pro-slavery divines, and those who echoed their sentiments, contended for the obligation of the citizen *actively* to concur in enforcing the rendition of fugitive slaves. I was sufficiently under the sway of Mr. Webster's imperial intellect at that time to feel that to avoid secession and war (which was not avoided), one might *acquiesce* in the rendition of fugitive slaves, in obedience to the law as it then stood; but even his dominating influence and my unbounded admiration and respect for him could not bring me to the conviction that those who held slavery to be a crime were bound *in conscience* to aid in putting a fugitive slave in chains and restoring him to his master. If, therefore, I had felt capable of treating the subject worthily, which I did not, or had regarded the introduction of the subject, even by implication, into the pulpit at that time as expedient, which I did not, it was very evident that I could not follow in the path marked out by Professor Stuart and other divines, whom Mr. Webster so cordially approved.

I have not dwelt upon those characteristics of Mr. Webster which made him, in the social circle, one of the most fascinating of men. I suppose it was the impression of his greatness, and the usual dignity of his deportment, which by contrast made his beautiful home-life at Marshfield, and his affectionate and playful manners there and in the circle of his intimate friends at Washington, seem so charming. It was with a feeling of surprise as well as of admiration that one saw that this intellectual elephant, who could fell the monsters of nullification and secession, could also crack a domestic nut and pick up a domestic pin. It was a rare treat to sit at his dinner-table after the work of the day was done, with a small group of congenial friends, and listen to the unconstrained play of his fancy and the free range of his mind over many fields. I recall some such scenes, especially those in which he and his intimate friend, Mr. Badger, of North Carolina—a superb talker—engaged in

tilts of wit ; and have often regretted that I did not record some of the bright things which both were sure to say. With intimate friends Mr. Webster could unbend even to boyishness. An incident occurred in the house of a neighbor of mine, a relative of Mr. Webster, which presents him in a very different aspect from that in which the majestic Senator usually appeared. He was accustomed often to drop in of an evening upon his friend and relative, and to unbend in a perfectly familiar and playful chat. On one occasion the attempt was made to repeat one of Mother Goose's melodies, and none of the party could recall it all. After several ineffectual attempts, Mr. Webster left with the assurance that he would have it before morning. Accordingly, as was his wont, in the early gray of the morning, with the market-basket on his arm, on the way to the market, he stopped before the house where he had spent the evening, and threw a pebble against the window of his friend's chamber, which brought its occupant speedily to the front to ascertain what could be the meaning of such a singular summons. Mr. Webster at once cried out, "L—! I've got it! I've got it!" and then repeated the melody—which it was I have forgotten. I think that there is something peculiarly funny and human in the repetition by the great expounder of the Constitution of one of Mother Goose's melodies, in that early hour, from the curb-stone, with his market-basket on his arm, to his astonished hearer, standing in his night-shirt at the window!

I venture here to repeat a statement which I made in the commemorative discourse to which I have alluded, in reference to the proposed publication of what Mr. Webster had written on the subject of religion: "It was my purpose, with Mr. Webster's consent and aid, to collect all that he had written and said upon the subject of religion, and present it in a volume to the world. This purpose was delayed that he might furnish me with some of the published and manuscript productions on this subject which he had written in early life, which were at Marshfield. His numerous duties and his frequent indispositions from time to time prevented the fulfilment of his promise to furnish me with these materials. I was led to suppose that there was no inconsiderable amount of such materials scattered in some periodicals written while he was a student at law, or

during the earlier years of his professional life. He mentioned an argument he had written on the Immortality of the Soul, which I trust may be recovered."

Mr. Webster's greatness has been celebrated and eulogized in every variety of form by vast numbers of his admiring countrymen. One cannot write of him, in any view of his genius or his work, without an overpowering sense of the majesty of his character and the splendor of his powers. Familiarly as he always treated me, and accustomed as I was to the society of many eminent men in Washington, I never approached him without a feeling of awe. And now, as I close these Reminiscences, I feel that I cannot dismiss them without the expression—insufficient as it may be—of that sense of his transcendent greatness, which was always the predominant feeling of those who heard or knew him, and of those most who knew him best. It would seem as unnatural for me to turn from the contemplation of his character without dwelling upon his greatness, as it would be to turn from Niagara with no words of wonder or delight. But in yielding to this impulse I find that my mind runs into precisely the same thoughts as those to which I gave expression over his new-made grave, and which I here repeat :

"I am aware that the attempt to analyze and describe the mental greatness of one who towered so high above his fellows may wear the aspect of presumption. But the truth is, there was nothing unintelligible, nothing mysterious or obscure in his greatness. It was understood and felt by minds of very different degrees of culture and of power. It was a kind of greatness which, like that of the dome of St. Peter's or of the Pyramids, was simple and obvious while it was transcendent. It was not like that of a Plato or a Kant, which only minds of peculiar gifts and training can discern. Men of common powers of intellect and fancy, and of the ordinary sentiments and feelings of our nature, saw in him a man of the *same kind* with themselves—nay, they saw in him themselves enlarged, strengthened, ennobled, glorified.

"Mr. Webster was furnished with all those faculties which in various developments and combinations make men great. In him there was wanting no faculty which is counted an ornament or a power in the human soul. The distinguishing peculiarity of his greatness was, that not only was each faculty separately excellent, but that

all were rightly proportioned, harmoniously developed, and beautifully and mutually helpful to each other. No one faculty jostled or crowded out or covered over another. In that fine confederated union, no one power rebelled against or encroached upon or marred another ; but all ministered to each other's glory and success. His power of analysis was not separated from the ability to generalize. His vivid perception of single truths did not diminish his power of viewing them in their connections. His strong, stern logic did not trample upon and crush his fancy. On the contrary, his faculties, being cultivated in due proportion, lent to each other the check or the charm they needed. His clear perception of particular truths and facts prevented hasty generalization ; while his fund of general principles, carefully and slowly but surely formed, enabled him to know whence to trace and where to place individual facts and phenomena as they appeared. His severe taste chastened his vivid imagination. His chastened imagination hung as an ornament of grace around his neck of sinewy strength. There was often a sound of music and a wave of blazoned banners in the air as his arguments moved on ; but these were only the incidental accompaniments of his march ; and beneath them might ever be seen the steady movement and heard the solid tramp of compact and embattled power. It was this rare combination of strength and beauty, grace and power, penetration and comprehensiveness, which rendered him pre-eminent in such various fields of thought and action. It is this which makes so many, who themselves excel in the departments in which they assign to him pre-eminence, declare that he was the first lawyer, the first orator, the first statesman, the first writer of his age."

C. M. BUTLER.

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT IN SWITZERLAND.

PRELIMINARY EVENTS.

The period of fermentation, till the beginning of negotiations with regard to a constitution for the Old Catholic Church.

The Old Catholic movement began in Switzerland as in Germany during the Vatican Council. The people followed everywhere with closest attention the progress of the proceedings of the Council. The excitement became most intense when it was known beyond a doubt that the majority of the bishops assembled in Rome would accept as a dogma the doctrine of Papal infallibility. For in German Switzerland this doctrine had never been taught before, either in the religious instruction of the young, or in the theological institutions, or from the pulpit. Even after the opening of the Council, men of strictly papistic views would seriously protest that the report of those who said the Council was to pronounce the Pope infallible was a mere invention of the "enemies of the Church." The *Lucerne Gazette*, now *Fatherland*, the chief organ of Roman Catholic Switzerland, expressed therefore its joy when the Bishop of Basle, Eugene Lachat, took with him to Rome, as theological counsel, Dr. Tanner, Provost of the Convent and Professor at Lucerne, a well-known opponent to infalli-

bility. And when afterward it was reported that at least one Swiss bishop, Greith of S. Gall, had joined the minority in the Council, people in the Catholic cantons were so much rejoiced that men of pronounced Roman Catholic views drew up an address of assent to Bishop Greith, and actually circulated it to obtain signatures. The address was, however, not sent to Rome. The weak bishop had hardly heard of the intention to congratulate him for the stand he had made when he made it known that he would not receive the address, and that he wanted his friends rather to assist in quieting the excited minds of the people. Whosoever since that time uttered anything against the new doctrines was branded as "a disturber of the peace," if not as "an enemy of the Church;" and the Roman Catholic press admitted no longer any articles controverting the tendencies of the majority at the Council.

This was the state of things when, in April, 1870, at Lucerne, four clergymen resolved, for the defence of "*Old Catholic doctrine*," as they expressed it, to publish a special weekly. The first issue appeared on the 22d of April, 1870, under the title "*Katholische Stimme aus den Waldstätten*." The programme contained these concluding words: "Nothing shall turn us away from the love and attachment to our common Mother, our *Old Catholic Church*," with her venerable traditions; but this ought to be the very sign of our unchangeable faithfulness and loyalty that in the hour of danger no fear of the wrath of zealots refrains us from telling the truth as we feel bound in our conscience to do. Our motto is: "*Fiducialiter agam et non timebo*." To this maxim the "*Stimme*" (voice) remained faithful. With intrepidity the writers proved from Holy Scripture and Church history the falsehood and injurious nature of the Vatican doctrines, recounted the distressing events at the Vatican Council, published extracts from the writings of the bishops of the minority side, reported on the beginning of the conflict in Germany, and with these and many other efforts secured an extraordinary success. The paper was read everywhere in Catholic Switzerland. Its articles passed into many liberal newspapers. But as early as October 6th, 1870, Bishop Lachat issued a violent declaration against the *Catholic Voice*, called it a "grave scandal" in his diocese and admonished the faithful to give it no ear. To this declaration assented

in the beginning of 1871 all seven bishops of Switzerland in a document no less violent than Lachat's. The four priests who edited the paper had the choice of either suppressing the publication or of completing at once the rupture with the Roman hierarchy. They decided upon the former alternative, for only one of the four was prepared for a breach with Rome. The names of the four editors have never been publicly mentioned before, so it may be done now. They were *Melchior Schürch*, curate in Lucerne, the two professors of the Gymnasium *Stephan Helfenstein* and *Joseph Suppinger*, and the professor of New Testament exegesis at the Theological Institute, *Edward Herzog*.

Schürch had written next to nothing. His friends called him the "brakeman." Suppinger's writings were mostly quite innocent. Helfenstein had more genius and acumen, in his zeal he once indulged in an attack upon the Pope from the pulpit, was suspended from the office of preacher, recanted then in a pusillanimous manner, vowed to say no more against the Vatican Council, and has ever since been a broken-down man. Herzog continued the contest in political journals, and was repeatedly summoned in the autumn of 1871 before the Bishop's Commissary, to explain himself concerning the new dogmas. The defendant declared frankly that he did not acknowledge these dogmas, that he considered it a duty of conscience to stand up for the truth, that he would come forward from his anonymous position as soon as he was convinced that the good cause was really served, if he staked in its behalf publicly his person and his station in life. Nevertheless he was spared every ecclesiastical censure. But one year later, in September, 1872, he went to Cologne to attend the Old Catholic Congress and declared in an open letter to Bishop Lachat his accession to the Old Catholic movement, and accepted the pastorate over the second Old Catholic congregation in Prussia, at Crefeld. Only the congregation at Cologne had up to that time been organized.

In the mean time the resistance against the Vatican heresies had assumed also in Switzerland a much more serious aspect. This was especially the case in the diocese of Basle. To this diocese belonged the Cantons of Argovie, Basle Country, Berne, Lucerne, Soleure, Turgovie, Zug, and also the Catholic congre-

gations at Basle-City and Schaffhausen. Thus it comprised nearly half of the Catholic population of Switzerland. The bishop of the diocese, Msgr. Lachat, educated in Rome, was quite a good-natured but incompetent man. The diocese was actually ruled by his chancellor, Durat, a wily and unscrupulous man, and of extreme ultramontane views. Soon after the 18th of July, 1870, Lachat returned to his diocese. In Soleure, where he resided, he was received with icy coldness. Several cantonal governments had already resolved not to recognize the Catholicism as transformed by the Vatican Council as the Catholic religion to which according to the constitution the full protection of the State was guaranteed, and consequently to refuse to the Vatican decrees the approval by the State. This resolution was communicated to Bishop Lachat on the 8th of September, 1870, in behalf of the governments of six cantons in a letter admirably composed by Landamman Vizier, a government councillor of Soleure; at the same time the Bishop was requested to abstain from promulgating the new doctrines. In case Bishop Lachat should nevertheless attribute by official acts canonical validity to the new decrees, he was threatened with the dissolution of the diocese. Since the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, had declared already in a message written on August 11th, 1870, to the Papal Nuncio at Brussels that there was no need for further publication of the new dogmas, it was hoped that Bishop Lachat would be prudent enough himself to omit such publication and thus to avoid a fatal conflict with the governments. However in a Lenten pastoral of February 6th, 1871, he discoursed largely on the new doctrines and declared that every Catholic was bound to believe them, and designated those who would not accept them as "heretics and enemies of the Church." For the official reading of the pastoral letter the *Placet* of the Cantonal governments was required. Lachat applied for it, but so late that the letter had been read already, for instance in the Canton of Berne, before the government was able to take cognizance of it. In other cantons, as in Argovie and Basle Country, the *Placet* was refused, and in some the curate took the liberty of striking from the pastoral the passages relating to the Vatican Council.

The latter course was taken also by the pastor of the

Penitentiary at Lucerne, J. B. Egli. He advised, besides, the Episcopal Commissary at Lucerne of his action and added another protest against the new heresies. Thereupon he was, on March 10th, 1871, solemnly excommunicated, and when, in May, 1871, a government with Papal sympathies obtained control of the Canton of Lucerne, he was deprived of his living. The brave man remained true to his convictions, but suffered great distress till the little community of Olsberg, in the Canton of Argovie unanimously elected him their curate. He holds that cure to-day.

Paulinus Gschwind, curate of Starrkirch (Soleure), rose with as much independence against the Vatican decree. Under the name "Peregrin" he had published already in 1870 a pamphlet against celibacy. It was an open secret who the anonymous writer was. When called to account by the Episcopal Chancellor he refused to give any information. But when Gschwind also failed to read to his people that part of the pastoral treating of the infallibility, he was summoned several times before the bishop and subjected to a painful trial. Pressed hard and frightened by the severest threats, he promised on the 7th of March, 1871, in writing, neither in sermons nor in catechizing, nor in the cure of individual souls, to say aught against the decrees of the fourth session of the Vatican Council, and also not to write anything against them. This promise he kept as far as his ministerial functions were concerned, but otherwise he continued by word of mouth and in writing to contend against the Vatican decrees. Consequently he was served with another summons from the Episcopal Chancery, which he refused to obey. At last, on October 30th, 1872, Lachat sent through two priests of the neighborhood, his sentence of excommunication to his house and declared him deposed. The judgment was partly based on entirely erroneous suppositions. Gschwind was accused of having signed the address of assent to the excommunicated Doellinger, which in Switzerland nobody had done except Herzog. He was also charged with having sent to the *Catholic Voice* a communication painful to the bishop, which communication originated, however, with another priest. Again it was alleged that he had inserted an article in the *Bund* derogatory to the Bishop's commissary; yet the editor declared that the article was not received

from Gschwind ; and so on other points taken. The excommunicated and deposed curate applied to the government of Soleure for protection, and continued, as the majority of his people remained faithful to him, his ministrations. The government declared his deprivation by the Bishop as unfounded and void, and convened the representatives of the cantons belonging to the diocese to inform them of the Bishop's action.

The deputies of five cantons, of Soleure, Argovie, Berne, Basle Country, and Turgovie assembled. They addressed, on November 19th, 1872, a letter to Bishop Lachat, in which they again averred that in their cantons the Vatican decrees had no legal authority, and that, therefore, no clergyman could be subjected to censure who contended against them. On this ground they also demanded of Lachat the unconditional withdrawal within three weeks of the sentence of excommunication passed on the two curates, Egli and Gschwind. In this manner the five governments might proceed, because they were sure of the support of the large majority of the people in their cantons. And here may be mentioned the different assemblies of laymen, at which so far the opposition had made itself heard.

When the news of the dogmatizing of Papal infallibility and of the creation of the universal episcopate of Rome crossed the Alps, the indignation that this infamous yoke should be laid on the faithful was so great, that the Old Catholic movement would have taken hold at once of all classes of the people, if not, together with that report from the South, a message from the North had been received, before which also in Switzerland all other interests had silently to recede, viz., the news of the war that had broken out between France and Germany. Only when the storm at the frontier had subsided public opinion turned again to ecclesiastical questions and church matters. To be sure, in the meantime many had grown indifferent, or timid, or had become more reserved and cautious. Yet in every large place hundreds and thousands followed the call whenever some zealous men tendered an invitation for a common discussion of the present situation of the Church. Such was the meeting held on the 31st of March in 1871, at Lucerne, attended by several hundred Catholic citizens, who unanimously pronounced against the Vatican decrees and the tenets of the Syllabus. A

similar gathering at the See city of Soleure, on the 29th of April, 1871, declared the Vatican decrees a mockery on human reason and protested against their being taught in school or church; suggesting also the formation of a society which was to comprise all Swiss men of like mind. Resolutions of the same purport were adopted at meetings of laymen in Olten, Basle, and Zurich.

Thus the First General Meeting of Swiss Catholics at Soleure on September 18, 1871, was brought about. While this assembly rejected almost unanimously the proposal to leave the Roman Catholic Church, it resolved with equal unanimity to request the governments of the cantons—

1. To declare the teachings of the Syllabus of the year 1864, and of the Vatican decrees of the year 1870, as incompatible with the constitutional law of Switzerland, and not to tolerate their introduction into the instruction on religion.
2. To favor the separation of single parishes or societies from the infallibilistic Church by protecting their claims to the Church endowment.
3. To secure for the congregations the election, free and independent of the infallibilistic bishops, of their curates.

The soul of these gatherings of the laity was Doctor Munzinger, Professor of Law in the University of Berne, a man of forty years, highly esteemed in the whole country, full of religious fervor and patriotism, as learned as eloquent and energetic. In each larger meeting he took a part and always spoke the kindling word. No resolution was passed unless he had framed or at least examined it. Munzinger attended also the first Old Catholic Congress held at Munich from September 22d to 24th, 1871. He went there with the venerable Landammann Dr. Keller, a man recognized by the Swiss people as authority in public affairs of every kind during half a century. With him Professor Herzog of Lucerne maintained also friendly relations; but according to the wish of the leaders no clergymen took an active part in those meetings of the laity; and consequently they never resulted in the formation of Old Catholic congregations. The resolutions adopted at the Congress were generally passed by in silence by the Romish press and were by and by considered as harmless.

At last the excommunication of the Rev. Paulinus Gschwind gave the signal for a practical contest with the invading heresy of the Vatican. There was only one voice in the whole of, liberal Switzerland about the necessity to protect the little country parish of Starrkirch in its loyalty to its excommunicated curate. But this could not be thought of, if it remained permanently the only Old Catholic congregation in Switzerland. Earnest efforts were therefore now made to gain new Old Catholic congregations. For this purpose a second general convention of Swiss Catholics was called together on December 1st, 1872, at Olten, a town near Starrkirch, in the centre of Switzerland. Professor Reinkens, of Breslau (later the Bishop of the Old Catholics of Germany), was also invited. The citizens of Olten, from olden times liberal minded, threw the Catholic parish church open to this assembly of several thousand men. The Professors Reinkens and Munzinger inflamed by their addresses the multitude to the height of enthusiasm. Munzinger, himself a citizen of Olten, had drawn up a statute for the formation of a Swiss society of Liberal Catholics. The first two articles read as follows :

The Swiss Society of Liberal Catholics has for its object the organization of resistance against the new doctrine of the infallibility of the Papal office of teaching, and the introduction of an effective reform into the Catholic Church, which is to remove existing abuses and especially to satisfy the just claims of the Catholic people to a share in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs.

The Society will endeavor to realize its objects by the following means :

1. By taking the proper steps to prevail upon the government of States and communities to withdraw the instruction of the young and the supervision of this instruction from the influence of the infallibilistic clergy.
2. By helping on the establishment of Old Catholic parishes, especially through the required application to the civil authorities.
3. By inducing the governments to withdraw the instruction of the young and the supervision of this instruction from the influence of the infallibilistic clergy.
4. By assisting the establishment of Old Catholic parishes, especially through the necessary application to the civil authorities.

5. By giving aid to worthy clergymen persecuted by the Curia because of their resistance against the new dogmas.

6. By providing for a solid and scholarly education of the students of Catholic theology.

7. By the arrangement of public lectures and the circulation of enlightening writings.

8. By carefully attending to a regular correspondence with the Central Committees of the Association of German Old Catholics.

These statutes were unanimously adopted by the assembly ; and the society thus organized nominated at once a Central Committee whose most influential member was Professor Munzinger.

By the splendid success of the Olten meeting the friends of the Old Catholic cause in other places were also encouraged. Professor Reinkens was invited from Olten to Berne, Soleure, Lucerne, Basle, Rheinfelden, to make addresses. Everywhere he found an unusually numerous audience, which listened with deep sympathy to his transporting orations.

At this time Professor Munzinger put himself in communication with the Rev. Edward Herzog at Crefeld and requested him to return to his own country, leaving him to choose between the congregations at Olten and at Soleure. Herzog decided for Olten, was elected in March, 1873, and returned early in April to Switzerland, to assume the cure of souls in this parish. On Easter Sunday, April 13th, his solemn installation took place. In a few weeks the neighboring parish of Trimbach followed the example of Olten. Here also was the Roman Catholic curate dismissed and an Old Catholic priest, Ludwig Kilchmann, of Lucerne, elected and afterwards instituted by the Rev. Edward Herzog. In many other cities and villages of German Switzerland parish meetings were held in order to decline the doctrines of the Syllabus and the Vatican decrees by formal resolution of the congregation. In some congregations of Argovie, such as Rheinfelden, Alsberg, Mumpf, Moehlin, Laufenburg, Lenzburg, this was done with the full consent of the parish clergy ; in other places, as in Zurich, Magden, Soleure, Basle, S. Gall, the adoption of the resolution led to a new election of the curate, or, when the majority remained Roman, to the foundation of another congregation of Old Catholics. In many parishes it

ended also with the passing of the resolution, there being no clergyman available at the right time to give the abrenunciation of the Vatican hierarchy reality in the Church life of the congregation. Howbeit the Old Catholic movement in German Switzerland had already passed through a history of several years, and had secured lasting results in the establishment of many Old Catholic congregations before the movement seized also French Switzerland.

In the French part of Switzerland the soil was upon the whole much less favorable for the Old Catholic movement. Not one priest could be found there who would have courage and intelligence enough to rise in open protest against the new heresy. The clergy, educated after the French model in seminaries, were accustomed to slavish obedience, while the liberal laymen, much as in France, were mostly indifferent to any religion. A peculiar external impulse was therefore necessary in order to awaken the interest in a movement for Catholic reform.

For the Catholic part of the Canton of Berne, which belongs almost entirely to French Switzerland, the occasion was given in the deposition of Bishop Lachat. The before-mentioned demand of the five Cantonal governments, made November 19, 1872, for the revoking of the excommunication of the two priests was answered on the 16th of December by Bishop Lachat with a decided refusal. "Rather death than shame," were his words in the letter of reply. Consequently the deputies of the five governments held a meeting on January, 1873, and inasmuch as Bishop Lachat in various points had not kept the compact made concerning his Bishoprics and had broken his sworn allegiance to the Governments of the Cantons, they resolved to withdraw the State license granted to him on November 30th, 1863, for the occupation of the Episcopal See of Basle and to prohibit him from the exercise of any Episcopal functions in the territory of Berne, Argovie, Basle Country, Soleure and Turgovie. This decree was sanctioned by the legislatures of the cantons mentioned and executed. Against it rose, however, the entire Roman Catholic clergy of the Canton of Berne. They protested in violent memorials to the Government against the measures taken by it, and continued to maintain their official intercourse with Bishop Lachat with much ostentation, especially by

reading his protest against the action of the government in their churches. In consequence of these proceedings the Bernese Government summoned sixty-nine curates before the Supreme Court, which on the 15th of September, 1873, pronounced the deprivation of the curates.

Now began a most sad period of the Old Catholic movement. In order not to let the Churches stand empty, the Bernese Government endeavored to obtain for the vacant cures Catholic priests of French tongue. There were very numerous applications, but two-thirds brought such bad testimonials that they had to be refused at once; and of the remaining third only a few were really commendable. Among these are especially to be mentioned the Rev. Messrs. Bois and Mirlin and Deramey, Doctor of the Sorbonne. All told, about thirty priests were thus received and placed over parishes. Their adherents were the Liberal Catholics, in many places only a few. As the people were informed through the Roman press that all these new parsons were excommunicated, it was taken for granted that they had joined the Old Catholic movement. So it happened that within a few months nearly thirty so-called "Old Catholic" congregations sprang up in the Canton of Berne. Some of them were very small, numbering hardly from 20 to 40 members, while in other places a strong minority, or even a majority, of the community had connected themselves with these Old Catholic congregations. The worst outcome of all this was that now scandal followed scandal. Against one of the ministers revelations were made by the Romish organs of the press which compelled his sudden return into the hiding of the Church of Rome; another continued in his new and exposed position his former lascivious life and had to be removed; a third one was utterly wanting in the proper conception of the wants of his unwonted position and at the same time without the necessary qualification to fill it. And there were quite a number belonging to this class. Very rarely was a man found, who, like Curate Deramey at Pruntrut, had made some Bible studies and was thus enabled to preach a substantial sermon. Instead of a well-ordered sermon based on Scripture and spiritual experience, empty and blustering declamations on anything and everything were to be heard. It is true, though, on the other hand, that the audiences which gathered around the preachers left

much to be desired. In the French part of Switzerland the religious instruction of the Catholic youth presented no better aspect than in France, and consequently showed no better results for the later age. One portion of the people is sunk in superstition and bigoted religious exercises, another is given to religious indifference and even atheism. It was a difficult task from such elements to form in short time regular Christian and Catholic congregations.

Under these circumstances many wished that the Romanists would soon consent to the re-establishment, under the recognition of the State, of a regular churchly parish life. An opportunity to obtain this was given through the enactment of a new ecclesiastical law by which on the 18th of January, 1874, the Legislature of the Canton of Berne regulated anew the relations between Church and State. This law prescribed among other things the election of the curate by the parish meeting, composed of all citizens of the place or district entitled to a vote and professing the Catholic religion. The duration of the incumbent's possession was fixed at six years, and every congregation was left to choose to which ecclesiastical superiors they wanted to be subject. However, this law was denounced as schismatic; for, before it had received legal sanction, it was for all time rejected and condemned by Pope Pius IX., in a solemn Bull of November 21st, 1873, and with the intent that the clergymen who through the vote of the people and the confirmation of the secular government accept an office of the Church, are, without any further procedure, subject "to the great excommunication reserved to the Holy See."

There was at first, then, in the Canton of Berne not a single Roman Catholic congregation reorganized under the State law, and for a time the Old Catholic parishes alone represented the Catholic Church as recognized by the State. But when after six years the first term of office of the Old Catholic incumbents expired, Pope Leo XIII. was reigning already, and he allowed the Roman people to ignore the Bull of his infallible predecessor and to adapt themselves to the State law. In this way the Romanists took again possession, after a short interval, of most of the parishes; for, of forty-three Catholic congregations in the Canton of Berne only four have at present a majority of Old Catholic voters. In all other

places the Old Catholics must band together in free associations and pay the expenses for their worship themselves, if they want to enjoy the privileges of Church life.

One lasting benefit, however, has been bestowed on the Old Catholics by the ecclesiastical law of 1874, viz., the foundation of a theological faculty at the University of Berne. The course of instruction was begun in November, 1874. The professors are, beside Bishop Herzog, the Rev. Dr. Michaud, and two eminent disciples of Doellinger, Hirschwälder and Woker.

More successful than in Berne was the establishment of Old Catholic congregations in the Canton of Geneva. But even there the impulse was given to the Old Catholic movement by a political event.

According to an agreement made between the Pope and the Swiss Federal Government the Catholic population of the Canton of Geneva was placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Fribourg. This agreement was annulled by Pius IX. on his sole authority, through the appointment of the curate Mermillod as Apostolic Vicar of Geneva, after he had been previously consecrated Bishop of Hebron *in partibus infidelium*. The Geneva Government and Mermillod, however, declared that he could not resign the office committed to him by the Pope. He was therefore on the 20th of September, 1872, deprived of his living by the Geneva Government, and when he nevertheless continued to perform episcopal functions, he was on the 17th of February, 1873, expelled from the country.

Against these proceedings the Roman clergy of the Canton protested with such vehemence as was shown by the Bernese priests when the State withdrew its *Placet* from Bishop Lachat. Therefore rose the liberal portion of the Catholic population, and in March, 1873, three years after the beginning of the Old Catholic movement in German Switzerland, they called Père Hyacinthe Loyson to Geneva, in order to found under his leadership Old Catholic congregations. A law passed by the State authorities on the 15th of February, 1873, and first enforced on March 23d, 1873, ordered the elections of the curates by the people. The Romish population declared in this case also that they could never acknowledge such a law as the Pope had condemned, and abstained from voting. In this way several Old Catholic

congregations were founded in the Canton of Geneva in a short time and without much difficulty. Loyson had already married before his transfer to Geneva, and had thus actually abolished celibacy. In Geneva he also at once declared confession as optional, which was equal to the abolishment of auricular confession, and celebrated Mass from the first in French. These reforms gave offence in some parts of German Switzerland, also to those who approved of them in substance. It was the general opinion that such radical reforms should only be made by a synod, as the legitimate and superior ecclesiastical authority, and that the individual had to forbear till such authority had been constituted. This state of things was also the reason why a consultation between M. Loyson and the curate of Olten, Herzog, could not take place before the 9th of July, 1873. In the mean time the laymen of the German and of the French part of Switzerland had already conferred with one another. At these conferences it was acknowledged that the drafting of a common constitution for the Church was a most pressing want. For consideration of the fundamental ideas underlying such Church constitution and for the consideration of the next and most needed reforms a meeting of delegates of the Swiss Society of Liberal Catholics was called for 31st of August, 1873, and thereby the Old Catholic movement in Switzerland entered upon a new stage of its development.

EDWARD HERZOG.

(To be concluded in the next number.)

SAYCE'S SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE.*

The students of the Science of Language have been for some years having a quiet time. From 1816 to 1854 they were excited by a continual succession of brilliant discoveries. In 1816 appeared Bopp's "Conjugations System," in which he demonstrated the unity of the grammatical systems of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, and German, and so began the work of Comparative Philology. In 1819 Jacob Grimm began his Comparative Grammar of the German tongues. From this time forward Bopp and Grimm and their followers went on rapidly, adding language after language to the Indo-European family, finding out the laws which govern the changes of words in the different languages, exploring early monuments, finding methods of exploring the history of nations by studying their words, and so tracing the history of mankind to a period earlier than tradition reaches.

There were all sorts of works begun in which the new methods were introduced—historical grammars, historical dictionaries, systems of scientific ethnology, of

* Introduction to the Science of Language. By A. H. Sayce, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880. 2 vols., pp. 441, 421.

comparative mythology. Neither astronomy nor geology has had a more exciting or fascinating period. But it could not last. Our aspiring astronomers sigh over Newton's laurels, and tell us gravitation can be discovered but once. So the Indo-European family and the great laws of language like Grimm's law, and the general methods of linguistic study, can be discovered but once. By the time Bopp published his Comparative Accentuation System in 1854 the great victories were won. Many generations of quiet explorers are needed to occupy the ground. A great host of them have been and are at work. But their work is for the most part a working out of details in the history of particular dialects, and it seems to the outsider like going over and over the same old track.

As always happens when a great body of facts are newly brought into the domain of science, a large number of theories, of philosophical views, have been brought forward and adopted. The views naturally suggested by the Indo-European languages have been applied to all languages. All these had seemed to be settled down under a great weight of authority. There were watchers, in fact, who guarded all with Argus eyes, and stigmatized every one who might venture a new suggestion or hypothesis.

But here comes the herald Mercury, Professor Sayce to wit, new lighted from the regions of the East, brim full of Accadian, Assyrian, Babylonian, or what not, with no special reverence for Indo-European, and no fear at all of Argus; and he undertakes to set wings to all this solid lumber, as he beckons the students of language to fresh woods.

He protests against determining the laws of language from the Indo-European alone. He insists that this family of languages is an exception among the languages of the world, and we must beware of concluding from it to others. He attacks the current opinions in detail.

The Indo-European languages are shown to have sprung from a single parent speech. Following out this model the thousand other languages of the earth were believed to have sprung from a few parent speeches, and these parent speeches ultimately from one primeval grand-parent speech. No such thing, however, does Professor Sayce believe. He thinks that language is long posterior to man, and that widely spread tribes of

savages, each for itself, arrived at thousands of different modes of speaking. Languages proper, according to this view, resulted from an amalgamation of many of these earlier dialects.

It was found that an analysis of the Indo-European words led to monosyllabic roots, and it became the received belief that all the languages of the world were originally monosyllabic, and that the Chinese is a representative of that condition of things, remaining unchanged in its primeval simplicity. Professor Sayce on the other hand believes that the Chinese is a decayed language, that monosyllabic roots are ideal, and were never words, and that the languages of the aborigines of America are the primeval type. These are eminently polysyllabic, running a whole sentence of any length into a single word.

Of course he does not accept the doctrine that monosyllabic languages develop into polysyllabic compounding or agglutinating languages, and these again into inflecting languages. Each language has its own type from the first. In his opinion, Chinese could never take the type of Turkish, nor Turkish that of Arabic or Greek.

It has been a great matter in the Indo-European languages to insist that every addition to the roots is a bearer of meaning, and either has been or represents a separate word. Thus *manly* is compounded of *man* and *like*, the *d* of *lived* represents *did*. Scientific etymologists are not satisfied till they have made out the original words from which each letter sprang in the word which they are examining. This method of research has been very fruitful : a surprising number of obscure combinations have been traced out, and the investigations have led to new comprehension of the laws of thought, especially of the formation and meaning of declensions and conjugations, and all the apparatus of grammar. Even the most obscure vowel changes are found in Indo-European to spring from contractions of early compounds or to be accentual effects resulting from added syllables.

In this whole position Professor Sayce is an unbeliever. He thinks that the sentence is the unit of speech, and that words are late creatures of grammatical analysis.

These views, and many more of the like revolutionary aspect, Professor Sayce uses as a basis of thought as

he presents us with an "Introduction to the Science of Language." The topics which he treats are much the same which appear in the works of Professor Whitney and of Max Müller: theories of language first; then the nature and science of language; the causes of change in language; phonology, sematology, and etymology; morphology and metaphysics of speech, and comparative syntax. These fill the first volume. The second classifies and describes the languages of the world, and a chapter is added on comparative mythology, and another on the origin of language. A great part of the work is occupied with the statement of well-ascertained facts; but there is enough of comment and paradox to make it lively reading everywhere. Abundant use is made of the languages of savages, especially in treating of primitive man and the theories of primitive languages. Few books, even in our bibliographical age, bring in more learning or handle it more easily.

He has not taken much pains to prepare it for easy reading by the masses.

If it is intended for popular use, there is far too little explanation of the multifarious learning which pervades it. Thus the first sentence in the book begins with a quotation from "a modern prophet," without naming him; and to understand the sentence the reader has to remember that *prophet* in its original Greek meant the *spokesman*, and also know the date at which the Hebrew for *seer* gave place to *Nabi*, the "proclaimer." The next sentence implies a certain familiarity with the Rig-Veda, and the meaning of *Aryan*, which is well enough. But the third sentence speaks of "the haphazard etymology which saw in the μέρορες ἄνθρωποι of Homer "articulate-speaking men." This is one of the most familiar scraps of Greek which survives in the memory of college-bred men from the days when they heard Homer sing his "*apa-meibomenos*," and if Professor Sayce has a hundred thousand readers, as we hope he may have, at least nine hundred in the thousand will wish he had put a note there to tell them what scientific etymology of the newest fashion sees in μέρορες ἄνθρωποι. And at least a hundred in the thousand will grumble as they turn to their Greek lexicon to find out about it, and grumble three and four times when they find that the latest editions of the best English lexicons of the Greek know

nothing else but the old "haphazard etymology." This is a defect, to be sure, in the lexicon, and it is due most likely to the fact that *μέρονες* has by some oversight no place in the index to Curtius' "Étymologie," from which Liddell and Scott drew their etymological revision. Our youth who use German text-books know about it. But there should have been a note there, or some explanatory phrase in the text, for the benefit of readers in general. Greek, however, belongs to our own family of tongues: it is Aryan, as Professor Sayce says. We can find out puzzles in that; but our author gives us Zaza, Hoopah, Uainambeu, Chinese, Basque, or Bâ-ntu, or any other language, with exactly the same happy confidence in our mastery of them, by the aid of off-hand interpretation.

Many things indicate the author to be a rapid worker who has much to do, and does not put the edge of his mind to every word he writes. Thus he says: "The Chinese change every *l* into *r*, and the nearest approach they can make to the pronunciation of *Christ* is *Ki-li-sse-t(ü)*. In the first place, the English pronunciation of *Christ* would not have given the Chinese word; it grew out of Latin *Christus*. Then it is obvious that the rule about changing "*l* to *r*" is an inversion of "*r* to *l*." That was of course a mere bit of carelessness, a slip of the pen.

On page 139, vol. 1, he says: "When once we have ascertained that an English *d* represents a Sanskrit *t*, only those Sanskrit words which contain a *t* must be compared with English words of Teutonic origin which have a *d* in the corresponding place." And he proceeds to infer that the English *hundred* must be the same as the Latin *centum*, Sanskrit *'satam*, and consequently our linguistic ancestors must have been able to count a hundred before the Indians separated from the Romans and Germans. Now the inference is true and interesting, and *hund-red* comes from the same word as *cent-um*; yet the English *d* does not regularly, according to Grimm's law, represent a Latin or Sanskrit *t*, but a Sanskrit *dh*; the *d* in *hundred* is assimilated by the *n*, and should regularly be *th*. A careless application of Grimm's law is in language much like a similar use of the multiplication table in mathematics. A man who argues that two and two are five may be a good evolutionist or other omniscient or agnostic scientist, but is

a poor bookkeeper ; and one who knows all about all the origins and laws of all the languages and slurs Grimm's law may well call to mind Sidney Smith's comment on Whewell : " Omniscience is his forte, and science his foible."

A scientific linguist who should set himself formally to confute Professor Sayce's theoretical positions would find it much like a battle with his Tatars, or Parthians. His lines are easily broken, but it is hard to tell when the victory is won. There are Parthian arrows in reserve. One feels that he will never know when he is beaten. His theory that the sentence is the original unit of language, and that words are later subdivisions, seems open to attack, but it is hard to make out what he means by a sentence. In some places he enlarges on the necessity of thinking in judgments, and we may suppose every sentence must have its subject and predicate. But in other places he speaks of languages which have no means of expressing predication. And he refers to early talking in which signs for objects are made with the voice, and the further meaning of the speaker added by gestures. If this is uttering sentences of the Sayce kind, his view does not necessarily differ much from the common one. It may be only that he chooses to be paradoxical.

The book closes with a discussion of the spelling of the English language. He insists strongly on its inconsistencies and irregularities. He says that in consequence of these at least forty per cent of the children educated in the English school-boards leave school unable to spell, and therefore soon neglect to read or write, and become total illiterates. He quotes from Mr. Gladstone the statement that in Italy, where the spelling is regular, the children begin school two years later than in England, and yet at nine years read and spell at least as correctly as English children at thirteen.

The objection that reformed spelling would conceal the history or etymology of words is raised, he says, only by ignorance and superficiality. Our present spelling is the invention of printers and pre-scientific pedants, and is as often false as right. "*Could*, for instance, the past tense of *can*, has an *l* inserted in it because *should*, the past tense of *shall*, has one ; *rime* is spelled *rhyme*, as though derived from the Greek *ρυθμός*," and so he goes on.

The objection that words now spelled differently but pronounced alike, such as *hole* and *whole*, will be confounded, Mr. Sayce makes light of. He says we never find ourselves at a loss to know which word is meant in conversation, though we have not the same leisure to think it out that we have in reading. "The different spelling is a mere burden upon the memory."

The embarrassment in reformed spelling growing out of the fact that a word is pronounced differently by different persons he thinks would speedily disappear. If regular standard spelling were always used, readers would have in the printed page a sort of pronouncing dictionary always open before them, and telling them the standard pronunciation of every word. All readers would rapidly come to uniformity of pronunciation, and this uniform pronunciation would be preserved by the same means.

Our present books would become antiquated, to be sure, when the new books should be all printed in improved spelling; but they could be read easily enough, much more easily than Spenser or Chaucer is now.

"And when once the needless stumbling-block of a corrupt spelling is removed, everything seems to point to English as destined to be the common tongue of a future world." And in this common tongue of mankind, Professor Sayce, with the predictive power of genius, hears the promise of what he calls the "Saturnia regna" of the future, better known to most of us as the millennium.

F. A. MARCH.

AN EASTER BENEDICITE.

O Easter Day, bright day of days,
My weary soul bursts forth in praise,
As, radiant from the opening tomb,
I see the Lord, my Saviour, come !

O Easter sun, rise full and bright
To greet this living Lord of light ;
Shine with his radiance and confess
Thy God,—the Sun of Righteousness.

O Easter lilies, fair and sweet,
Beneath the risen Saviour's feet,
His gracious breathings shall suffice
To make ye flowers of Paradise.

The Easter breezes, freshly borne
Around the pathway of the morn,
His loving word, in mercy given,
Transforms to gentle "gales of Heaven."

Maidens and youths in happy throng,
Carol to-day your sweetest song ;
Holy and humble men of heart,
In the loud chorus bear your part.

Now Lord, with waiting feet we stand ;
Oh guide us with thy loving hand,
To tread the path which Thou hast trod,
And be, like Thee, THE SONS OF GOD.

H. C.

IS DAKOTA A DIOCESE?

THE debate on the admission of the Diocese of Dakota, during the session of the late General Convention, was broken into several fragments, and thus failed to produce that unity of effect which might have led to the right result. The questions involved are of no great consequence, perhaps, so far as Dakota is concerned. She can wait three years longer. But the astonishing ignorance of the true meaning of our Constitution, and of the *unbroken* practice of *all* previous General Conventions in carrying out that Constitution, are—as shown in that debate—somewhat alarming. We propose to treat the erroneous arguments that carried the House the wrong way, with a freedom that will help toward the remembering of the matter for the future.

And first of all, as to a point hardly alluded to in the debate, but *fundamental* nevertheless: How is a “diocese” *formed*, according to the invariable practice of our American Church? This question is needed; for the Rev. Dr. Hanckel, of Virginia, Chairman of the Committee which reported against admitting Dakota, began his speech in this extraordinary way:

The first ground of objection would seem scarcely to require a statement. . . . Did not the Constitution and Canons contemplate *ex necessitate* that the proposed diocese should have a bishop? Was that a complete diocese which had no bishop?

To understand how wonderful these questions are, as bearing upon representation in General Convention, let us go back to our first *organized* General Convention, of September, 1789, and see what sort of an answer we find there. There were then only *three* bishops in this country—those of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York. Were these, therefore, the *only three dioceses* represented in General Convention? Perhaps Dr.

Hanckel may think so ; but the Journal tells a different story. Besides these three, there were *six* or *seven* other "dioceses," which at that time had *no* bishops of their own. And the time that elapsed before they had bishops of their own was in each case severally, as follows :

Virginia, *one* year.

Maryland, *three* years.

South Carolina, *six* years.

Massachusetts, *eight* years.

New Jersey, *twenty-six* years.

Delaware, *fifty-two* years.

New Hampshire, *twenty-two* years before she got a small fraction of a bishop, and *fifty-five* years before she could rejoice in a bishop of her own.

Are we to be told that, during all those years, all these "dioceses" ought to have been excluded from representation on the floor of our General Convention ? What could Dr. Hanckel have been thinking of ?

But what brought those "dioceses" into General Convention anyhow ? Did their position as "dioceses" depend on their being "*admitted*" into union with General Convention ? *Certainly not.* That would be putting the cart before the horse. They were not dioceses *because* they were "*admitted*," but they were component parts of the House *because* they were "*dioceses*." And what, then, is a "diocese ?"

Article V. of the Constitution originally ran thus :

A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States, not now represented, may, at any time hereafter, be admitted, on acceding to this Constitution.

That is the whole of it. It is the shortest article in that original Constitution. It remained unchanged until an amendment, which was moved in 1835, became law in 1838 ; of which we shall say more presently.

But this is not the only article of the Constitution which bears upon the question. Article I. originally (and down to 1838) read : ". . . This Church, in a majority of the *States* which shall have adopted this Constitution, shall be represented before they shall proceed to business." These words recognize an absolute *right* of representation as belonging to the Church in every "*State* which shall have adopted this Constitution." The adoption of the Constitution, or "acceding to this

Constitution," as it is termed in Article V., is the *only* condition. Where that is done, the right of representation is absolute and unquestionable.

And the theory on which it is done is clear. Each State was then regarded as a separate organic entity. Each was independent. Each was, in the common parlance of those days, "sovereign." No one of them was, politically, subject to any other of them. And their powers, as States, were not derived from or granted by the Continental Congress. The theory of national churches rests on the idea that all the members of the Church within the bounds of one State or nation have the right to associate themselves together as one Church. Our American organization, in Church matters, began with this *voluntary association within State lines*. The Diocese of Connecticut did not organize by consent of General Convention previously given; neither did New York, or Pennsylvania, or Virginia, or any other of the original dioceses in this American Church. General Convention had *nothing whatever to do* with the organization of these dioceses. They organized *spontaneously*, by *voluntary association within State lines*. And when thus organized, and "acceding to this Constitution," they were *ipso facto*, by the first article of the Constitution, entitled *of right* to equal representation in General Convention with the Church in any other State. This argument, we are sorry to say, was not urged in the debate. It sweeps the whole ground. It is *unanswerable*.

We might, indeed, if we wanted to pursue a "short and easy method" with Dr. Hanckel, refer him to the opening words of Canon 15 of Title I., "Of Bishops":

To entitle a *diocese* to the choice of a Bishop, by the Convention thereof, there must be, at the time of such choice, and have been during the year previous, at least *six* Presbyters therein, regularly settled in a parish or church, and qualified to vote for a Bishop. . . . But two or more adjoining *dioceses*, not having respectively the requisite number of Presbyters to entitle either to the choice of a Bishop, may associate and proceed to the choice of a Bishop, etc., if there be . . . nine or more such Presbyters residing, etc.

If this does not prove that a "diocese" may exist *before* it has a bishop of its own, or ever has had, there is no force in language. It proves, moreover, that it may

take "two or more adjoining *dioceses*" to make up even the small number of "nine Presbyters qualified to vote for a bishop." By the side of such canonical "*dioceses*" as these, Dakota with its *twelve* clergy looks highly respectable in point of numbers.

But the keenest point of the absurdity of Dr. Hanckel's position will be seen by showing that the *exact opposite* happens to be the historic truth. Of all the *forty-nine* "*dioceses*" now organized in the Church of America, *not one* had "its own bishop" at the time of its *organization*—absolutely not one—and only Connecticut, Ohio, and Illinois had their own bishops even at the time of their "admission" into General Convention! Not one of the fourteen new dioceses erected by the subdivision of old ones is an exception to this rule; for not one of them has ever been, by vote, "admitted" into union with General Convention after its organization. In 1838, when General Convention gave its consent to the subdivision of New York, a part of the *resolution* was as follows: "And this Convention *does hereby recognize* the union with the General Convention of the new diocese west of the above-named county boundary lines, to take effect on the said first day of November next." From the moment of its erection, therefore, it has been in union. And this has been the case with all the rest of the fourteen new dioceses made out of old ones. And, of course, not one of the fourteen had its own bishop until at least a month or two after its organization.* The rule is therefore universal. *Every* American diocese has been organized in exactly that way which Dr. Hanckel seems to think impossible!

But we do not wish to be so brief as to seem contemptuous. Let us go to the record again, and examine it carefully, and in detail. Perhaps, indeed, it may be best to begin with a glance at the preliminary General Conventions previous to that of September, 1789. We shall thus get down to the very roots of our American system, without possibility of mistake.

At the first gathering, in Christ Church, Philadelphia, in 1785, there were clerical and lay deputies from *seven* "States," but in very unequal numbers.

New York sent *two*, one clerical and one lay.

* Northern New Jersey is the only exception *technically*, the bishop having, in that case alone, chosen the *new* diocese as his own, instead of the old one.

New Jersey sent *three*, two clerical and one lay.

Pennsylvania sent *eighteen*, five clerical and thirteen lay.

Delaware sent *seven*, one clerical and six lay.

Maryland sent *seven*, five clerical and two lay.

Virginia sent *two*, one clerical and one lay.

South Carolina sent *three*, one clerical and two lay.

With delegations thus varied, running from *two* to *eighteen*, the first resolution adopted, after the choice of secretary, was, "*Resolved*, That a president be now chosen by ballot, and that *each State have one vote*." There was no vote to *admit* any "State;" but the deputies, as individuals, were only called on to "produce the testimonials of their appointment"—a totally different thing. This is in strict accordance with what was done at each successive meeting, down to and including 1789, when this their *existing practice* was simply *embodied in the Constitution*.

Article II. of the Constitution was as clear as Article I. It read :

The Church in each State *shall be entitled to a representation of both the clergy and the laity*.

And, again, at the end of the same article, we read :

If, through the neglect of the Convention of any of the churches which *shall have adopted*, or may *hereafter adopt*, this Constitution, no deputies, either lay or clerical, should attend at any General Convention, the Church in such State shall nevertheless be bound by the acts of such Convention.

Now, be it well noted that the language here is not "The Church in each State *which shall have been admitted into General Convention by vote*;" for the adoption of the Constitution was the *only* qualification. The Church in any State, on adopting the Constitution, was, by the very force of that Constitution itself, "*entitled to representation of both the clergy and the laity*," without vote or other preliminary whatsoever. *Forthwith*, it counted *one*, in making up that number, "a majority" of which must be "*represented*" in order to form a quorum for business.

So deeply ingrained is this fundamental principle in our whole American system that we have not even yet exhausted the decisive recognitions of it in our original Constitution. Article VIII. is *On the Use of the Prayer*

Book, and ordains that it "shall be used in the Protestant Episcopal Church in those States which *shall have adopted this Constitution*." It does not say, "which shall have been admitted into union with General Convention by vote." The adoption of the Constitution was enough. *That*, of itself, made the union. So, too, in Article IX., *Of Alterations in the Constitution*: it is declared to be "unalterable, unless in General Convention, by the Church in a majority of the States, which *may have adopted the same*." So that, as Dakota has "adopted the same," Dakota must be reckoned as one of the number, a *majority* of which is necessary in order to carry any amendment of the Constitution. Thus, out of *nine* articles in that original Constitution, no less than *five* demonstrate the correctness of our position.

So far for the theory: now for the practice.

There were *nine* dioceses represented in 1789, Connecticut and Massachusetts being added to the previous *seven*. And for many years every new diocese represented on the floor made its appearance in precise accordance with the principles just laid down.

The *tenth* diocese was Rhode Island, and first appeared on the floor in 1792—three years after the full organization. There was no *vote* whatever, admitting the "diocese." They never thought of such a thing in the case of this *tenth* diocese, any more than in the case of the other nine. The deputies simply "*took their seats*," as they had a perfect right to do.

The *eleventh* diocese was Vermont, which appeared in 1811. There was no *vote* to "admit the diocese." The opening list of members present, whose "testimonials" were "severally approved," and who thereupon "took their seats in the House," includes the following: "*From Vermont*, the Rev. Abraham Brunson, he having previously presented a certificate that the State of Vermont had acceded to the Constitution of this Church." The next day "the Rev. Parker Adams, a clerical deputy, and Anson J. Sperry, a lay deputy, from the State of Vermont, . . . appeared and took their seats."

The *twelfth* diocese was New Hampshire, which appeared in 1817, without any vote of admission. In the list of "gentlemen" who "took their seats in the House," the very first is, "*From New Hampshire*, the Rev. Charles Burroughs"; and that is all. In October, 1789, indeed, the Rev. Dr. Parker sat as representing

both New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and signed the Constitution on behalf of both ; but New Hampshire does not appear at all, by one of her own clergy, till 1817.

The *thirteenth* diocese was North Carolina, which applied for admission in 1817—the same year in which New Hampshire came in without vote. North Carolina, it seems, *asked* for admission, thus taking the first step toward a slight change in the practice. We read in the Journal of the House of Bishops :

A communication was received from the Secretary of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina, containing a copy of the Journal of said Convention ; from which it appeared that they had acceded to the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and desired to be received into union with the General Convention thereof.

Whereupon, *Resolved*, That this Convention have received with great satisfaction the aforesaid communication, and *recognize* the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina as a member of this union.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolution be sent to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies for their concurrence ; and that the documents from North Carolina be also sent to that House.

The Lower House, in acting on this subject, “ concurred with the House of Bishops in *admitting* the Church in North Carolina as a member of this Convention.” This is the first time the word “ *admit* ” is used in this connection, except in the Constitution itself. It cannot be understood as having any other than what we have *proved* to be the constitutional meaning. It cannot mean the right to *exclude* from admission, in any case where the sole constitutional requirement has been complied with ; for that would bring it into direct conflict with the first, second, eighth, and ninth articles of the same Constitution, and would be the same as making the fifth article to read : “ A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States, or any Territory thereof, not now represented, may, at any time hereafter, be *excluded*, on acceding to this Constitution.” That is just what they have *done* in the case of Dakota.

The *fourteenth* diocese was Maine, which appears in 1820. In the Journal of the Lower House we read :

A certificate from the Secretary of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Maine, together with a copy of the Constitution of the Church in that State, was received and read, and application made for *admission* into union with the General Convention.

Whereupon, *Resolved*, That this House *recognize* the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maine as in union with the General Convention.

The House of Bishops "*concurred in receiving* the Church in Maine into union with the General Convention."

The *fifteenth* diocese was Georgia, in 1823. The record is :

It appearing to the satisfaction of this House, that the Convention of Georgia had acceded to the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America :

Resolved, If the House of Bishops concur therein, that the Church in the State of Georgia be received into union with the General Convention.

The bishops "*concurred in receiving* the Church in Georgia into union with the General Convention."

The *sixteenth* diocese was Ohio, which was organized in 1818, but did not appear in General Convention till 1826. There was no vote in either House to "*admit the Diocese of Ohio.*" It came in, in the old original simple fashion. We merely find, among the deputies who "*presented testimonials of their respective appointments, and took their seats,*" the following : "*From Ohio*, the Rev. Samuel Johnston, the Rev. Intrepid Morse."

The *seventeenth* diocese was Mississippi, which was admitted at the same General Convention of 1826, but in a different manner from Ohio, though in accordance with the same general principles. "*Certain documents relating to the organization of the Diocese of Mississippi*" were referred to a committee. This committee reported that the application from Mississippi was "*agreeable to precedent,*" that that diocese "*acceded to*" the Constitution, and the resolution was adopted "*that the Church in the State of Mississippi be received into union with the General Convention.*" The House of Bishops also referred the matter to a committee, and, on their favorable report, concurred.

The *eighteenth* diocese was Tennessee, which first

appears in the General Convention of 1829. Its application was referred to a committee, who reported that "the Constitution is acceded to and adopted," and "the Church in the State of Tennessee" was "admitted into union" accordingly. The House of Bishops concurred.

The *nineteenth* diocese was Kentucky, admitted at the same General Convention of 1829, in exactly the same way.

The *twentieth* diocese was Alabama, which was admitted in 1832. The committee reported that "it appears, by satisfactory documents laid before this House, that the Church in the State of Alabama has been regularly organized as a diocese, that two Conventions have been held, that a Constitution has been adopted, by which the Church accedes to the authority of . . . the Constitution," etc., and thereupon Alabama was admitted, the House of Bishops concurring.

The *twenty-first* diocese was Michigan, which applied at the same General Convention of 1832. This application brought up new questions. Michigan was then a Territory, not a State (it became a State in January, 1837, more than five years later). Moreover, Michigan did not "accede;" the phrase she used was "recognize as binding upon the Church in this diocese." Moreover, this phrase was only used in a "resolution," and not embodied in her Constitution as a diocese. She had passed a canon, however, in which an express obligation "to conform to the Constitution and Canons of the General Convention" was required before any parish could be represented in Diocesan Convention. Now our committee of 1880 would have made short work with this state of facts. And the first committee to which they were referred in 1832 did so, by requesting to be discharged from further consideration of the question; which was done. But this did not satisfy the House. The papers were referred to a new committee, and on their report of the facts three resolutions were carried. The first declared it to be "consistent with the *meaning* and *spirit* of the Constitution of the Church, and *expedient also*, to consider the *Territories* of the United States as within the scope of its provisions, and the churches in the same admissible into union in the *same manner* as churches in the *States*." The second resolution declared that, while it is "highly proper and expedient" that the "acceding" should be embodied in the Consti-

tution of the Diocese, yet there was "exhibited from Michigan a resolution and a canon of contemporary date with the Constitution, and believed to be considered as forming one act with it on the part of its Convention." The third was, "*Resolved*, That the documents exhibited appearing to be in order, the Church in Michigan be received into this union, and that their deputies be admitted to seats in this Convention; with the expectation that the omission in the Constitution referred to will be supplied, but that this case ought not to be drawn into precedent." The House of Bishops concurred. This was, indeed, *stretching* the Constitution; but it was stretching in order to *admit* new dioceses, and not to *shut them out*.

The *twenty-second* diocese was Illinois; and here, too, were novelties. Less than a year before, there was only one solitary clergyman of the Church in the whole State. The Convention which organized the "Diocese of Illinois" contained, if we remember rightly, only two clergymen, the Rev. Palmer Dyer and the Rev. James C. Richmond, with a few laymen. They "acceded" to the Constitution, and elected, as their diocesan, Bishop Philander Chase, who was at that time living in retirement in Michigan, having resigned the Diocese of Ohio three years before. Bishop Chase had accepted, and had gone to work in his new diocese at once, without asking consent of Standing Committees or anybody else. The canons prohibiting such modes of doing things have been sharpened a little since then. Illinois presented herself at the General Convention of 1835, with bishop and deputies. The matter was acted on first in the House of Bishops. Their committee reported that "the constitution and canons" of Illinois were "not inconsistent with those of the General Convention." They go on to say :

The Church of Illinois presents herself for admission into union with the General Convention, with a Bishop at her head. . . . There appear to be some circumstances in regard to his appointment which may be thought not entirely in consonance with the regulations of the Church; yet the committee do not deem them of such vital importance as to invalidate his election; and the committee feel disposed to regard them with the more indulgence, as the case was unprovided for by the canons of the Church. As there is no probability that a similar case can occur hereafter, in which they may be adduced as a precedent,

and as there are other especial considerations which render it desirable that the measures of the Convention of Illinois should be consummated by the action of the General Convention, the committee recommend . . . that the Church of Illinois, under the episcopal superintendence of the Right Rev. Philander Chase, D.D., be, and hereby is, received and acknowledged as a diocese, in union with the General Convention, etc.

This was carried, and the Lower House concurred.

In 1835 an amendment of Article V. was initiated, which would permit the *subdivision of an organized diocese*. This entirely new thing in our American Church was called for by New York, and was consummated in 1838, resulting in the erection of the Diocese of Western New York. Opportunity was taken, at the same time, to provide for future cases like that of Michigan; and the words "or any Territory thereof" were inserted. These words give to the clergy and laity "in any Territory" exactly the same right to organize, "accede," and "be admitted" which has from the first belonged to the clergy and laity in any "State." The entire remainder of Article V., after the words "on acceding to this Constitution," refers to *the erection of new dioceses by subdividing old ones already represented*, and have nothing in the world to do with the cases we have been considering—namely, the admission of a new diocese in a "State" or "Territory" *not* previously "represented." We continue our enumeration of these *State* dioceses, therefore, ignoring the others for the present altogether.

The *twenty-third* diocese was Florida. The precedent set in the case of Michigan was here followed; for Florida was then (1838) a Territory, and did not become a State until March, 1845. Florida had "acceded to the Constitution," and was "received into union" by the House of Bishops first, the Lower House concurring. The addition of the words "or any Territory thereof" to the Constitution did not become law until *after* Florida was admitted, though it was done at the same session, and the Florida delegation, clerical and lay, voted for it.

The *twenty-fourth* diocese was Louisiana, which, having "acceded," was admitted at the same General Convention by the Lower House, the Bishops "concurring."

The *twenty-fifth* diocese was Indiana, which was "admitted into union" at the same General Convention

of 1838, by the Lower House first, the Bishops "concurring."

The *twenty-sixth* diocese was Missouri, which, having "acceded," was "received into union" by the Lower House in 1841, the Bishops "concurring."

The *twenty-seventh* diocese was Wisconsin, which, having "acceded," was "admitted into union" in 1847, by the Lower House first, the Bishops "concurring."

The *twenty-eighth* diocese was Texas, which, having "acceded," was "admitted into union" in 1850, by the Lower House, the Bishops "concurring."

The *twenty-ninth* diocese was Iowa, which, in her Constitution, said: "This Church, as a constituent part of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, acknowledges its authority." This was not, in exact words, "*acceding*" to the Constitution; but it evidently meant the same thing, and therefore Iowa was "admitted into union," by the Lower House first, the Bishops "concurring."

The *thirtieth* diocese was California, which applied at the same General Convention of 1850, but *not* in the regular and constitutional form. The committee report that they "find in the Constitution of said diocese no such distinct assent and submission to the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States as the fifth article of the Constitution of the said General Church seems to require." This would have been sufficient cause to refuse admission. But no application, thus far, had ever been refused, and the committee seem to have been too tender-hearted to suggest such a thing. They therefore recommend the usual resolution of admission into union, "being well assured that it is the sincere *intention* of the Diocese of California to recognize and submit to the Constitution of the Church in the United States;" and even so strict a constitutionalist as the late Judge Chambers, of Maryland, moved that the House adopt the report. But the Vermont delegation moved an amendment; and Dr. F. Vinton finally moved a substitute, which was *carried*: "That the Church in California be admitted into union with this Convention, so soon as the Church in California, by provision in her Constitution, shall have *acceded* to the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and shall have *duly* applied for admission into union with this Conven-

tion." In 1856, California having meanwhile embodied in its Constitution its "adherence to the Constitution and authority of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, as required in the fifth article of said Constitution," this was deemed "a full compliance," and "in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution"; and California was "admitted into union" accordingly.

The *thirty-first* diocese was Minnesota, which, having "acceded," was "admitted into union" in 1859. The "organization" of Minnesota was in 1857, while yet a Territory. It was admitted a State, however, before the meeting of the General Convention.

The *thirty-second* diocese was Kansas, which, having "acceded," was "admitted into union" at the same General Convention of 1859. Kansas was then a Territory, including a much larger area than the State of Kansas—the State becoming such in January, 1861. The next General Convention, therefore, jointly "*Resolved*, That the boundaries of the Diocese of Kansas are hereby declared to be so changed as to conform to the boundaries of the State of Kansas."

The *thirty-third* diocese was Nebraska, whose papers being "in all respects in conformity with the Constitution and canons," she was admitted accordingly in 1868.

The *thirty-fourth* diocese was Arkansas. During the war, at one time, services had been suspended in every parish and station, without exception. In 1871 she applied for admission, and the committee reported that her papers were "in all respects in conformity with the Constitution and canons." She was therefore "admitted" accordingly.

Now these *thirty-four* are *all* the dioceses admitted under that opening clause of the fifth article. The other *fourteen* (making our entire number *forty-eight* at present, without Dakota) were all made under the *latter* part of Article V., by *subdividing existing dioceses*. These fourteen are—1. Western New York; 2. Pittsburg; 3. Albany; 4. Long Island; 5. Central New York; 6. Easton; 7. Central Pennsylvania; 8. Northern New Jersey; 9. Southern Ohio; 10. Fond du Lac; 11. Western Michigan; 12. West Virginia; 13. Quincy; 14. Springfield.

Now it is indisputable that the entire *thirty-four* dioceses first enumerated were admitted under one condi-

tion only—that of “acceding to the Constitution.” Dakota complied with this condition as accurately and fully as any of the thirty-four. It has been *demonstrated* that compliance with this condition gave a *right* to admission, indisputable under the *fifth*, as well as both the *first* and the *second* articles of the Constitution—to say nothing of the *eighth* and *ninth*—a right which has never before been questioned or denied. The refusal to admit Dakota, therefore, is clearly a legislative outrage, in distinct *violation* of the Constitution, and utterly unprecedented in the entire previous history of the Church of America.

The inexcusable character of this unprecedented outrage will become only the more clear on the examination of every pretence alleged in debate as justifying it. And here, first of all, let us recur to the principle we have laid down, that the *organizing* of a “diocese” is in no respect the work of General Convention, nor is the validity of that organization dependent on “admission into union” with General Convention. No resolution, canon, or anything else was ever adopted by General Convention “erecting,” or “organizing,” or “creating,” or “forming,” any “diocese” whatsoever. All that has ever been done is to “admit” *dioceses already existing and organized as such*. And they are such by the voluntary action of the clergy and laity within their several boundaries. Let us look at a few examples.

Vermont was “organized” in 1790, but did not appear in General Convention till 1811—*twenty-one* years.

New Hampshire was “organized” in 1802, but did not appear in General Convention, by one of her own deputies, till 1817—*fifteen* years.

Ohio was “organized” in 1818, and did not appear in General Convention till 1826—*eight* years.

Other examples might be given; but look specially at the case of California, whose application for admission was *refused*, for non-compliance with the *only* condition which the Constitution required. Was her “organization” therefore considered as invalid—as *nullified*? By no means. California “organized” in 1850. Her application was rejected in 1853. The missionary bishop, Dr. Kip, going out thither after the General Convention of 1853, *respected that organization*. Instead of considering that to be a nullity, and “organizing” all over again, the “diocese” simply changed its constitution, in

accordance with its own rules, until it conformed to the requirement of Article V.

That the *vital* element in "organizing" or "erecting" a diocese is the voluntary act of the clergy and laity within its boundaries is further evident, even from the mode of forming that other sort of dioceses, around which so many restrictions have been thrown. What is it that *makes* a new diocese within the bounds of an old one? Is it the consent of the Bishop and Convention of the old diocese? If so, General Convention would have nothing to do but to "admit" the "diocese" thus made. But it cannot be made without the "consent" of General Convention also. Does *this* consent, then, *make* the "diocese"? Not at all; for then its "admission" must follow at once. In a proper marriage between two young people, there ought to be the consent of the parents on both sides. But that consent does not *make* the marriage. If, after all, the young folk quarrel and will not come together to get married, the consents of all the fathers and mothers in the world will not make them "man and wife." And in like manner, after Bishop and Convention and General Convention have all "consented," if the clergy and laity at their primary Convention resolve that they *will not organize*, there is no power on earth that can *make* them "a new diocese." But Dakota *has* organized. She has organized under the Constitution, in the same way that the other thirty-four dioceses have done. On *every* consideration, then, of American principle or American practice—by *five* distinct articles of our Constitution—Dakota is a "diocese," and a "diocese" she will remain, with all the rights and powers of a diocese, whether "admitted into union" with the General Convention or not.

Of all the excuses given for denying the clear constitutional *right* of the Diocese of Dakota, the most plausible was that the new diocese does not propose to include *all* the area marked on our present maps as "Dakota Territory." This might have been something, had it been in all respects correct. But a "Territory" is a phrase not merely signifying a district marked on a map. The principle of the Church is to organize her ecclesiastical lines on the *political* divisions of the country. Where the political and the geographical correspond there can be no question. But in the case of Dakota they do *not* correspond. The *geographical* map includes

the large Indian reservations in the western part. The *political* Territorial organization *expressly excludes* them. The Church has aimed to follow the *political* divisions, as she ought to do. The excluded Indian reservations are in the missionary jurisdiction of Bishop Hare. Any partial shifting of boundaries through new treaties with the Indians can easily be accommodated afterward, but cannot invalidate an organization otherwise constitutional.

Dakota, though having no bishop of her own as yet, was not to be entirely without Episcopal services. She was to continue for a time (not expected to be more than from three to five years) under the present popular missionary bishop who has had charge over her from the first. This is another of Dr. Hanckel's amusing grounds of objection: "Was the Church prepared to inaugurate the theory that out of the *missionary* fund she would undertake to support the Bishops of *organized dioceses*?" Here is richness!

The following dioceses (not to mention *all* the cases) have continued to be under Missionary Bishops for the terms of years specified, *after* they had been duly "admitted into union" with General Convention: Louisiana, *three* years; Missouri, *three* years; Wisconsin, *twelve* years; Texas, *nine* years; California, *seven* years; Kansas, *five* years; Nebraska, *two* years; Arkansas—but Arkansas is too pointed a case to be dismissed so briefly. Arkansas was admitted in 1871. There is *not one* of the objections made by Dr. Hanckel to Dakota that would not have applied with equal or even *greater* force to Arkansas. She had fewer clergy by *one*; had no Bishop of her own; did not even propose to elect one soon; did not hint a word about possible endowment; was under a Missionary Bishop at the time; expected so to remain; has so continued down to the present time, with no prospect of anything else for an indefinite time to come. Yet *the same* Dr. Hanckel, being then, as in 1880, chairman of the Committee on New Dioceses, reported that they had "examined the papers" of the new diocese, "and find them to be *in all respects in conformity with the Constitution and canons*," and Arkansas was at once *admitted*. Oh, consistency, thou art a jewel!

What shall we say of the objection made to the small number of the clergy and communicants of the new Diocese of Dakota? Twelve clergy and about five hundred communicants are not large figures, we must

admit, though *six* Presbyters, duly settled for a year, are enough to elect a Bishop, with lay delegates from an equal number of parishes. But the true point of comparison is, to look to others of the *thirty-four* State dioceses, and see what was *their* strength when they were "admitted." And here we will say nothing about the original dioceses represented in 1789, though Bishop Seabury was elected by only *ten* clergy, Bishop Provost by only *six*, and Bishop White by only *four*; Bishop Philander Chase by only *four* to Ohio, and by only *two* to Illinois. We will look rather at those "admitted" after 1789.

Rhode Island had only *two* clergy in the "diocese," when she was "admitted into union." Vermont had only *two* when admitted; one of the two was a deacon, and *both* came as "deputies" and "took their seats" unquestioned. Maine had only *two* clergy, and about 100 communicants. North Carolina had only *three* clergy. Georgia had *four*. Ohio had a bishop and *eight* clergy. Mississippi had *four* clergy. Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and Michigan had each *three* clergy. Illinois had a Bishop and *six* clergy, only four of whom were priests, and within less than a year previous there was only *one* clergyman in the State. California, when admitted, had *ten* clergy, including the Bishop, and 383 communicants. Kansas had eleven clergy and only 160 communicants. As Dakota was clearly ahead of all these, the objection as to numbers was utterly idle.

But Dr. Hanckel appeals to the "equity" of the matter, and asks whether this new diocese, with only five hundred communicants, "ought to come here and exercise an equal privilege with the great Diocese of New York, with its twenty-five thousand communicants?" Why not, if Virginia, with 12,500 communicants, throws an equal vote with New York that has more than twice as many (it is 35,000, not 25,000)? Is every new diocese, then, to be kept out until it is as strong as New York? If there is *any* force at all in this argument from numbers, it leads straight to *graduated representation*. And yet, if we remember aright, Virginia and Maryland—Dr. Hanckel and Mr. Montgomery Blair—voted *against* graduated representation! Where, then, is the *sincerity* of the objection on the point of numbers? The *Constitution* makes no particular number requisite; and all our previous *practice* has been according to the Constitution.

But a profound discovery is made, that a Missionary Bishop is, by canon, appointed "to exercise Episcopal functions in States or Territories, or parts thereof, *not* organized into dioceses"; therefore, argues Dr. Hanckel, it will be a "direct conflict with the provision of the canon" that Bishop Clarkson should continue to officiate in the *Diocese* of Dakota. So it would, if Bishop Clarkson should be *sent* into Dakota, by the mere act of the general Church. But if Dakota *asks* him to come, all the objection disappears. And Dakota has asked him, and he has consented to come, being invited "by the ecclesiastical authority thereof," as the canon requires.

But when every other objection has failed, we have to deal with Mr. Blair's claim, that "the *spirit* of the Constitution applies as well in this case as where a new diocese is carved out of an old diocese." And so, as to all the limitations touching numbers, provision for the support of a bishop, and other restrictions upon the subdivision of *existing dioceses*, Mr. Blair would import them all into the first clause of Article V., which refers only to "States" or "Territories"! If this be correct, what a wonder it is that nobody ever found it out before! In 1838 it was required that no new diocese should be carved out of an old one, unless the new one had at least thirty Presbyters canonically settled for one year. Yet Florida and Louisiana were admitted at *the same* General Convention—Florida with only *five* clergy and one hundred communicants, and Louisiana with only *two* clergy and one hundred and fifty communicants. And since then, Missouri, and Wisconsin, and Texas, and Iowa, and California, and Minnesota, and Kansas, and Nebraska, and Arkansas have been admitted by *nine* different General Conventions, not one of which could have come within gunshot of admission on Mr. Blair's hypothesis. It is clear that either these nine General Conventions did not understand "the *spirit* of the Constitution," or else Mr. Blair does not understand it.

The clergy and laity of Dakota themselves, indeed, are partly to blame. In the excess of their zeal in a good cause, they began to talk about securing an endowment of \$25,000 for their Episcopate. It would be a good thing to do; but it is none of the business of General Convention to look after *that* matter in *their* case. The bringing it up at all only gave a colorable pretext

to their opponents to tangle them up with all the restrictions that belong only to an entirely different class of dioceses. They will do well to avoid this error next time.

To sum up : Dakota is a "diocese," by as good and valid a title as any of the other forty-eight, and therefore makes our number of dioceses now *forty-nine*.

She had an indisputable *right* of representation under the *first* article of the Constitution, being one of "the *dioceses* which shall have adopted this Constitution."

She must be counted in the entire number of dioceses, a "majority" of which "*shall be represented*, before they shall proceed to business."

She has an indisputable right under the second article also. For she is a "diocese," and the Church in *each* diocese "*shall be entitled* to a representation of both the clergy and the laity."

In connection with Articles I. and II., she has, from Article V., a *third* right to be admitted, since she has "acceded to the Constitution." Having done *that*, there was no power to *exclude*, unless by violating Articles I. and II., to say nothing of Articles VIII. and IX. also.

This right is proved by the facts of *every one* of the *thirty-four* dioceses already admitted under the first clause of Article V.

There is a *total absence* of any right of exclusion, either in law or traditionary usage.

Being a "diocese," Dakota has only to stand up for her rights, maintain all her diocesan powers, permit the exercise of no Episcopal functions within her limits except by her own request, and possess her soul in patience until the General Convention of 1883 shall recognize that *right* of representation, which was so wrongfully refused her by the General Convention of 1880.

It may be that the general mind of the Church is prepared to ordain some checks and restrictions upon the admission of new dioceses in States or Territories. If so, it can only be done by an amendment of the Constitution to that effect, duly approved by two consecutive General Conventions. It cannot be done rightfully by denying the clearest constitutional rights, enjoyed and recognized from the organization of the American Church until now, and under a law in which there has been no change since the beginning, except to make "Territories" equal to "States."

Before closing, it would be a great oversight not to recognize the straightforward and kindly position taken by Bishop Clarkson, both publicly and privately, in recognizing the right of Dakota to organize, and maintaining her just claims to admission. And, on the other hand, it is beautiful to see the grateful affection felt by Dakota to Bishop Clarkson for his loving and faithful care over her until now. And it is a comfort to rest assured that that close and tender connection will be maintained so long as it may be needed.

We must express our thanks also to the Rev. Dr. Thrall, of Cumberland, Md., one of the clearest heads and bravest hearts among us, for a letter in the *Standard*, in which some of the facts bearing upon this case are stated with masterly brevity and force.

J. H. HOPKINS.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

Every Christian scholar must rejoice in the enterprise whereby the "Sacred Books of the East" are becoming accessible to the English reader in reliable translations. He wishes to know truly what are the bases and what are the authoritative teachings of those religions with which Christianity, in its wonderful progress in the present day, is coming more and more into contact. Dreamy idealisms, such as "The Light of Asia," however interesting as poems, are worse than useless to him, and do but increase the severity of the struggle with popular unbelief which he is obliged to sustain on every side; access to the facts as they really are enables him to see whatever modicum of truth underlies and gives vitality to the various false religions, and at the same time to understand how the vast moral power of Christianity may best be brought to bear for their overthrow.

The volumes before us give a fresh and carefully made translation of that book on which rests the faith of some 180,000,000 of the human race, and which contains the authoritative teaching of one of the very few

* The Sacred Books of the East. Translated by various Oriental Scholars and edited by F. Max Müller. Vols. vi. and ix: The Qur'ân, translated by E. H. Palmer. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1880. Pp. cxxviii-630. Price \$5.25.

aggressive and proselyting religions of the world. The book itself has generally been known to the English world as the Koran, but as times change it has now become the Qur'an. The translation of Sale has long been the chief source of information in regard to its teachings; but a comparison of it with the present version on almost any page is sufficient to show the superiority of the latter in exact fidelity to the original. At the same time the former can hardly be spared by the student of Mohammedanism, on account of its copious notes and that very exegetical matter incorporated into the text which so largely interferes with its value as a translation, the brief notes of Palmer by no means supplying their place. Any criticism made upon the translation of Palmer must certainly be from the opposite side, and indeed, it is not easy to see the necessity or advantage of such excessive literalness as preserves the order of the words against the English habit in quite unimportant phrases, and even regards participial forms in violation of the English idiom. We cite a few instances taken at random from Chapter II. "If ye do it not, and ye shall surely do it not;" "Me therefore dread;" "Me do ye fear;" "Nor hide the truth the while ye know;" "Few it is who do believe;" "God is knowing as to the wrong doers;" "God's is the kingdom;" "God in all ye do doth see;" "We are unto Him resigned;" "Theirs is what they gained." Similar instances abound and, at times, make reading somewhat laborious. In the smoothness of its English and the clearness of its meaning Sale's version is far better, however more accurate Palmer's translation may be.

The volumes are enriched by an introduction, of 72 pages, of great value, and an "Abstract of the Contents of the Qur'an" (of 38 pages more) which is extremely full, and is of much assistance to the student. The abstract of Chapter V., *e.g.*, occupies more than a page, while the chapter itself is contained in 19 pages, and that of Chapter VI. more than a page and a half, the chapter itself filling only 22 pages. In this abstract the author has indulged in much of that exegesis from which he has carefully refrained in the translation, and as he gives no smaller division than the chapter it is sometimes difficult to recognize in the text the passage indicated in the abstract. We suppose that he has here followed the interpretation of the most authoritative

Muslim commentators, and the abstract becomes thus a valuable key to the somewhat obscure allusions in the text itself. Brief foot-notes to the pages continually explain obscurities in the text or point out its historical allusions. At the end of each volume there is a table of "Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the translations of the Sacred Books of the East," and at the close of Volume II. there is a copious index to the whole.

The introduction opens with a brief account of the character, customs, and religion of the Arabs immediately preceding Mohammed's time. Christianity, with the corruptions of the time and endless subtle disputes, and Judaism, with its exclusiveness and inconvenient ritual, had little attractions for them; while yet both exerted an influence in causing "the monotheistic idea to attract the attention of some of the more earnest and inquiring minds." The political changes which gave importance to Mecca as the religious centre of a large part of Arabia are set forth clearly and succinctly, and the ancestry of Mohammed himself is given, showing the prominent position to which he was entitled in the city, notwithstanding his poverty. The history of his life is told in its salient features and as far as is necessary to explain the promulgation of the Qur'ân. His life-long disease, traditionally called epilepsy, "but the symptoms of which more closely resemble certain hysterical phenomena," and "his habit of fasting and watching through the night" are enlarged upon as conditions precedent to the revelations, in which Mr. Palmer rightly considers that the prophet himself thoroughly believed in the early part of his career. He by no means acquits him of "pious fraud" in the latter part of his life. A sufficiently detailed account is given of the first conversions, and of the subsequent early struggles and vicissitudes of the new faith. The author considers that the theories of imposture and enthusiasm fail to explain the facts, and that the theory of Mohammed's "being a great political reformer does not contain the whole truth." An earnest zeal for Monotheism is shown by the facts and is also necessary to account for the power of his religion over those men of intelligence and noble position who were willing to rank themselves as converts among slaves and freedmen.

The question whether Mohammed himself could read

or write is decided rather summarily in the negative (p. xlvii.), and the reader may not be able to follow the author's conclusion, particularly in his statement "that he could not have done so sufficiently to have made use of any of the Jewish or Christian Scriptures." Such knowledge as he had of them is accounted for by the oral traditions "current among the Jewish and Christian tribes." The general character of the Qur'ân and its teachings are admirably summarized, but a foot-note on p. 36 "See excursus on the rites and ceremonies of Islâm," leads us to look somewhere for a fuller discussion, the absence of which can only be accounted for by some change of plan.

On pp. liii. and liv. there is a paragraph in answer to the objection "to Islâm that neither its doctrines nor its rites are original," which is so extraordinary that it is quoted without comment.

"No religion, certainly no sacred books of a religion, ever possessed entire originality. The great principles of morality, and the noble thoughts which are common to humanity, must find their way into the Scriptures, if these are to have any hold upon men; and it would, indeed, be strange if the writers, however inspired, left no trace in their writings of what they had seen, heard, or read. The New Testament, it is well known, contains much that is not original. Many of the parables etc., as a late eminent Orientalist once pointed out, are to be found in the Talmud. We know that St. Paul drew upon classic Greek sources for many of his most striking utterances, not even disdaining to quote the worldly wisdom of the comedian Menander; and there is at least a curious coincidence between the words used in describing the blindness that fell on the apostle just before his conversion, and its subsequent cure, with the description given by Stesichorus in his 'Palniodia,' of a similar incident connected with his own conversion to the worship of the Dioscuri. Even the most divine sentiment in the Lord's prayer, 'Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us,' is expressed almost in so many words in the advice given by Nestor to the angered Achilles in the first book of Homer's Iliad." We suppose the discovery mentioned in the last sentence must refer to line 276 sqq. of Book I., although that passage is far from containing the sentiment attributed to Nestor.

Just beyond this is a statement that "the Arabs made use of a rhymed and rhythmical prose," with an attempt to explain this from the structure of the language, which we confess our entire inability to understand. He says that while the "language consists for the most part of trilateral roots, . . . the derivative forms expressing modifications of the original idea are not made by affixes and terminations alone, but also by the insertion of letters in the root." He gives as instances maZRûB from ZaRaBa and maQTûL from QaTaLa; but certainly these are instances of prefixes, after the analogy of the Hiphil and Hophal participles in Hebrew, and there is no "insertion of letters in the root." Nor is it easy to discover any connection between this common structure of all Semitic languages and rhyme.

After these criticisms it is pleasant to quote an admirable passage explaining the much vaunted literary superiority of the Qur'ân (p. lv). "That the best of Arab writers has never succeeded in producing anything equal in merit to the Qur'ân itself is not surprising. In the first place, they have agreed beforehand that it is unapproachable, and they have adopted its style as the perfect standard; any deviation from it therefore must of necessity be a defect. Again, with them this style is not spontaneous, as with Mohammed and his contemporaries, but is as artificial as though Englishmen should still continue to follow Chaucer as their model, in spite of the changes which their language has undergone. With the prophet the style was natural, and the words were those used in every-day ordinary life, while with the later Arabic authors the style is imitative and the ancient words are introduced as a literary embellishment. The natural consequence is that their attempts look labored and unreal by the side of his impromptu and forcible eloquence."

The introduction gives further a discussion of the gradual compilation of the Qur'ân, with a chronological table of the various "Surahs," taken from Nöldeke, in which they are arranged in two chief classes according to their composition at Mecca or Medinah, and the former are subdivided chronologically into three periods. Of course, such an arrangement depends upon internal evidence, but the notes of time are in many cases so distinctly marked that the process is not attended with the same uncertainty as in much of the applica-

tion of subjective criticism to the determination of the dates of the books of the Bible.

The rest of the introduction is chiefly occupied with an interesting account of the doctrine and the practical duties taught by the religion of Islâm. These are drawn from four sources : "(1) The Qur'ân itself. (2) *HADÏTTE* (pl. '*ahadÏTTE*') the 'traditional' sayings of the prophet which supplement the Qur'ân." These also deal with the life of Mohammed and are of great use in explaining the meaning of the Qur'ân. Although great care has been exercised in regard to these traditions, much uncertainty remains as to the authenticity of many of them, and it is well known (although not mentioned by the author) that they are wholly rejected by a large sect of the Mohammedans. These laws are called the *Sunnah*. (3) "*Igmâ'h* or the consensus of opinion of the highest authorities in the Muslim Church upon points concerning which neither the Qur'ân nor the *HADÏTTE* are explicit. (4) *Qiyâs* or Analogy, that is, the reasoning of the theological authorities from analogy from" all the above sources where anything is left undecided. The author then sets forth in a summary of fourteen pages the teaching of this religion, so powerful in the vast number of its votaries, as drawn from all these sources. It is easy to recognize in this the influence of Jewish and Christian monotheism, and something also of the teachings of Christian morality ; but with this a large and most unfortunate accommodation to the prejudices and superstitions of the prophet's contemporaries, together with a sad degradation of his teaching to his own personal interests and passions. It is well worthy of perusal, and the whole book constitutes a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the " Sacred Books of the East."

FREDERIC GARDINER.

THE LIFE OF BISHOP SEABURY.*

The Life of Bishop Seabury has been so long desired and hoped for, that we are prepared to welcome it in almost any form ; much more when it presents itself with the creditable and readable appearance usual with the Riverside books ; and when, in an admirable print, the subject of it, with graceful gesture, seems to invite us to enter upon its perusal.

It now lacks but three years of a century since the consecration which gave the Church in the United States its first bishop. The circumstances attending this consecration were so remarkable, the events which preceded and were consequent upon it, were so extraordinary, as to make it an epoch in the history of the Church in this country, and the subject of it conspicuous in that history to all readers. But although there have been frequent references to this man in the lives of others, and although it is quite impossible to read the history of the Church in this country without meeting him in his actions and writings, yet no life of him has

* *Life and Correspondence of the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, D.D., First Bishop of Connecticut and of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.* By E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., Rector of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1881. Pp. 498. Price, \$4.

ever appeared ; unless we except some fugitive sketches, and the biography prepared some years ago by the Rev. Dr. Norton for the Sunday School Library, which the acute editor of the *Church Monthly*, the Rev. H. N. Hudson, characterized as an attempt to cut Bishop Seabury up into small pieces, out of regard to the feeble powers of digestion of the juvenile intellect. And whatever conceptions the ancients may have been able to form from the foot of Hercules, it is natural to desire a full view of a great man, albeit we may have to stand a good way off in order to take it in.*

It had been by many anticipated that the life of his grandfather would have been given to the Church by the late Dr. Seabury, who probably was better fitted to treat the subject, under all its aspects, than any one else had been or can now be. But the important place in the history of the Church, which, in the Providence of God, he was himself called upon to fill, engrossed his powers so fully as to preclude him from writing the history of others. And yet perhaps he did as much to perpetuate the memory of his ancestor as if he had written his life. At least it may be fairly said that the battle which he fought for the principles of the Church, and the power of influence which he brought to bear upon his own and the following generation, in procuring the recognition of those principles, have contributed more to keep alive and extend, in the mind of the Church, a due sense of its obligation to Bishop Seabury, a consciousness now only beginning to ripen to its maturity, than could have been contributed by a mere biography. He was not, however, unmindful of the need

* Among the occasional contributions which have directed public attention to the career of Bishop Seabury, should be especially noted two valuable pamphlets, "Bishop Seabury and Bishop Provost," and "Bishop Seabury and the *Episcopal Recorder*," by the Right Rev. Dr. Perry, Bishop of Iowa ; and also one among Sketches of Early American Bishops, now being republished in "The Living Church," by the same author, than whom few men of the present day have had better opportunities of knowing Bishop Seabury, or have better known how to appreciate and turn to advantage those opportunities.

But the best *brief* view of the Bishop's life, and the only one that has ever done him justice in the matter of his course in reference to civil affairs, will be found in "The Life and Epoch of Hamilton," by the Hon. George Shea, who introduces him (pp. 292-309), as the writer with whom Hamilton contended in one of the political controversies preceding the Declaration of Independence ; and who, with a magnanimity not too common in biographical writers, goes somewhat out of his way to pay a tribute of respect and admiration to the antagonist of his own hero.

and value of such a work. For many years he cherished the purpose of writing it. As long ago as 1832 he drafted the commencement of it, and from that time kept the object in view. He made a considerable collection of papers bearing upon it, and about the year 1860 set himself again to the work; but, under the combined pressure of other labors and increasing infirmities, he died without concluding it; having nevertheless produced a valuable introduction to it, in the form of a dissertation upon the life and times of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, A.M., the Bishop's Father. The sight of his manuscript, matter in itself for a volume, and yet only introductory to the subject he was approaching, always brings to mind the melancholy pleasantries with which he once referred me to the valued work of his learned and lamented friend the late Dr. Jarvis. "Poor Jarvis," said he, "spent his life in writing the history of the Church of the Redeemed, and died by the time he brought it down to the birth of the Redeemer."

Dr. Beardsley, in his preface, comments upon the absence hitherto of a life of the Bishop, and, waiving discussion of the cause of this imperfection in the annals of the Church, presents himself as endeavoring to supply the deficiency. His home for many years amidst the places associated with the life of his subject, his extensive researches into the history of the Church in Connecticut, his familiarity with the writings and acts of the Churchmen of Connecticut before and during the term of the first Episcopate, and his practice in historical writing, have eminently fitted him for the work which he has undertaken. These qualifications too are so well known to the Church as to furnish a warrant of his trustworthiness which will dispose Churchmen to accept with confidence the statements which he makes.

Dr. Beardsley has done good service to the Church in presenting it with a remarkably compact, clear, and readable account of the part which the Bishop performed in procuring the Episcopate; in promoting the union between the Churches in the several States after the Revolution, and in aiding the scattered members of the Church in those various States to settle themselves upon the basis of the traditional faith and constitution. These are points upon which the present generation needs information, and this information Dr. Beardsley

fully gives; doing ample justice to his subject in respect to these points, and clearly and conclusively drawing the judgment of an unprejudiced reader toward the recognition of the debt which the Church in this country owes, under God, to Bishop Seabury, for its existence as a lawfully perpetuated branch of the visible Kingdom of Christ; and for the possession of important, if not essential, safeguards to its unity, and to its faith and worship.

In order to a correct estimate of Bishop Seabury's part in procuring the Episcopate, and our consequent obligations to him for the lawful perpetuation of the Church, several circumstances are to be noted. In the first place there were the old Puritan prejudices against Bishops, which are at this day well understood to have been a main ingredient in the composite causes which produced the Revolution itself, and which survived the successful termination of that struggle so far as to make it probable that any one who should appear in this country clothed with the Episcopal robes would meet with a discourteous if not a dangerous reception.* These prejudices produced a state of feeling in this country which might well make one unwilling to be made a bishop; while the knowledge in England of the existence of this state of feeling here, had a tendency to breed in the English officials an unwillingness to make bishops, or to allow them to be made. Controversies in reference to the desired and dreaded introduction of the Episcopate had been going on for years before the Revolution, and those who dreaded that consummation refused to be persuaded of the distinction between the spiritual authority, which is alone characteristic of the Episcopal Office, and those temporal accidents of power and emolument and dignity which attended its exercise in England. To one of these contro-

* A history of the Province of New York, written at the close of the Revolutionary War by Judge Thomas Jones, but only in 1879 brought to light by Mr. E. F. DeLancey, in a sumptuous edition printed by the N. Y. Historical Society, on a foundation established by the liberality of Mr. John Divine Jones, full of curious and interesting revelations, traces the whole trouble in the Province of New York to the machinations of a certain triumvirate, "Presbyterians by profession, and republicans in principle," educated at Yale, "a college remarkable for . . . its utter aversion to Bishops and all Earthly Kings" (vol. i., p. 5). From this coalition resulted "The Independent Reflector" and the "Watch Tower," and other publications which produced the compact of Seabury with Chandler and Inglis herein after mentioned.

versies (although, by the way, not one of the Seabury controversies) Dr. Beardsley alludes (p. 73): "It was said by Dr. Chauncy, before the revolt of the Colonies, that the Episcopalians 'had in view nothing short of a complete church hierarchy after the pattern of that at home, with like officers in all their various degrees of dignity, with a like large revenue for their support, and with the allowance of no other privilege to dissenters but that of a bare toleration.' It was the fear of such an imaginary hierarchy that kept the adversaries of the Church perpetually on the watch to prevent its consummation. In vain was it denied to be any part of the plan." And again, observes the author (p. 74), as to the effect of this state of feeling upon the course of the English officials: "The British Cabinet might acknowledge that an American Episcopate was a measure right in itself, but the representations of dissenters that sending bishops to this country would be offensive to the people and incline them to independence were strong enough to keep the simple question in abeyance. There appeared to be no separation of Church from State in the diplomatic mind of that day, and men on this side detected a foe under the mitre and the episcopal robes. "If Parliament," said John Adams, "could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and tithes, and prohibit all other churches as conventicles and schism shops."

But it was not only the prospect of an ungracious reception, if not a forcible rejection, which was a discouragement likely to hinder an application for consecration, but also the prospect of the difficulties, of having such an application granted. These difficulties as embarrassing the English bishops in the matter of the proposed consecration, are summed up (p. 108) in Seabury's letter of August 10th, 1783, from London, as follows:

"1. That it would be sending a bishop to Connecticut, which they have no right to do without the consent of the State.

"2. That the bishop would not be received in Connecticut.

"3. That there would be no adequate support for him.

"4. That the oaths in the ordination office cannot be got over, because the king's dispensation would not be sufficient to justify the omission of those oaths. At least there must be the concurrence of the king's coun-

cil to the omission ; and that the council would not give their concurrence without the permission of the State of Connecticut to the bishop's residing among them."

No doubt these difficulties, if not all clearly foreseen, were yet shrewdly suspected, and the prospect was far from encouraging. That these, or such as these, might, in the judgment of those interested in the effort, ultimately preclude its success in England, is shown by the statement made in the letter of Rev. D. Fogg (p. 104), that the clergy of Connecticut had "even gone so far as to instruct Dr. Seabury, if none of the regular bishops of the Church of England will ordain him, to go down to Scotland, and receive ordination from a non-juring bishop."

The extent of personal sacrifice involved was also a serious discouragement. The country was impoverished, and the clergy were of the poorest. The electors were in no condition to put the elect in funds for a journey which was costly, and for a sojourn which was certainly indefinite, and might possibly prove ruinous. As the event issued, the stay in London, required by attendance upon the English functionaries, extended from July 7th, 1783, to about the first of November, 1784 ; and sixteen months was a long campaign for a force provided with a shrunken commissariat. It must have furnished an exasperating trial of patience, too, to the man who *had nothing* (p. 162), to wait so long upon the whims of the affluent. The author says (p. 125) : "The voyage to England was undertaken solely at his own expense, and all the property which he had was embarked in the enterprise." Perhaps if Dr. Beardsley had perused certain ominous statements of "James Rivington in account with Samuel Seabury" about this period and for several years after, he might have put this matter even more strongly.

Such recollections as these help us to realize something of what was involved in the undertaking to procure the Episcopate for this country. But there is even more to be said of our obligations to him who carried through this undertaking, although this must be said rather in the way of belief than of assertion.

"I am firmly of opinion," writes the Rev. Mr. Parker, afterward Bishop of Massachusetts, "that we should never have obtained the succession from England, had he or some other not have obtained it first

from Scotland" (p. 259). There are two considerations which give us fair ground for concurring in this opinion. One of these considerations is that the influence of a powerful section of the Church in this country was drawing toward the substitution of measures of expediency for the requirements of sound principle. Near the close of the war appeared a pamphlet which recommended, as Dr. Beardsley says (p. 97), "a plan of a very extraordinary nature. It was written by the Rev. William White, afterward Bishop of Pennsylvania. . . . According to the interpretation of the author, the pamphlet "proposed the combining of the clergy and of representatives of the congregations, in convenient districts, with a representative body of the whole, nearly on the plan subsequently adopted. This ecclesiastical representative was to make a declaration approving of Episcopacy, and professing a determination to possess the succession when it could be obtained; but they were to carry the plan into immediate act." This plan did not indeed meet with universal acceptance. The clergy of Connecticut in particular, with candid and conclusive reasoning, withstood it (pp. 98-102). In the answer which was returned to their communication, "in July, 1783, Mr. White no longer defended his proposed scheme. He asked for the indulgence of his Connecticut brethren on the ground of a supposed necessity, which, he now admitted, had ceased to exist" (p. 103). In short, the influence was checked, not so much by candid and conclusive reasoning (for there had been abundance of that to prevent if it were possible even the existence of the influence), as by the fact that a bishop elect was already in England. The probabilities are that without this fact the influence might have extended and increased. The tendency toward doing without that which was likely to cost so much to obtain, would have been apt to lead to the setting up of superintendents, as nominal bishops; and to issue in the claim that these nominal bishops were possessed of lawful authority. The course, at first perhaps acquiesced in with reluctance, would probably—if we may judge by the post-reformation history of some Protestant bodies which pursued similar plans of expediency, with similar pretences of unwilling necessity—have been ultimately defended with obstinacy.

The second of these considerations is, that very

shortly after the consecration of the first bishop by the hands of their poor relations in Scotland, the English Prelates discovered that what they had supposed to be obstacles in the way of the action requested of them, either had no real existence, or were capable of easy removal. And this consideration indicates—what, as savoring rather of the earthen vessel than of the true Apostolic grace, one does not like to confess—that the English bishops would never have bestirred themselves to act in the matter of consecration, without the incentive supplied by the discovery that their action was after all unnecessary, and the fear that those whom they accounted their inferiors would take the city, and it should be called by their name.

Whether the feeling against the Scotchmen, on account of their non-juring associations, existing both in official and non-official circles in England, should be ascribed to a jealous dread of a possible revival of their principles, or to a morbid aversion to the men themselves, resulting from the evil consciousness of injuries done to them, it is perhaps not worth while to inquire; but it is hardly to be doubted that the feeling had its influence in hastening that conveyance of the Episcopate from the English line which had in vain been sought unless this feeling had been touched. No sooner was recourse had to Scotland than the reaction began. Dr. Horne, Dean of Canterbury, describing the views of others than himself, writes to Bishop Seabury of his consecration: "There is some uneasiness about it, I find, now that it is done. It is said you have been *precipitate*" (p. 163). And this uneasiness would appear, in the sequel, to have deepened into a resentment capable of causing the managers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to withdraw their stipends from the Bishop and other approved missionaries in the American States, and to ignore his Episcopal character in their official communication to him on that subject (p. 176); capable also of producing the invention of, or assent to, "*an implied engagement*" (pp. 359-366) which should serve the purpose of diverting public attention from the Christian courage of the Scottish Bishops, and of fixing the gaze of an admiring and grateful posterity upon the safe circumspection of the English Prelates.

Granville Sharpe, too, with the same vulgar and igno-

rant intolerance which distinguished his clerical counterpart, Provoost, in New York, hastened to intrude a meddling finger into the matter. Five days after the consecration of Dr. Seabury he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and expressed his regret at the limitation of the late act, authorizing only the ordination of priests and deacons for independent States. "I should not," said he, "have troubled your Grace with so long a letter on this subject, had I not lately been informed that an American clergyman, who calls himself a LOYALIST, is actually gone down to Scotland with a view of obtaining consecration from some of the remaining NON-JURING bishops in that kingdom, who still affect among themselves a nominal jurisdiction from the Pretender's appointment; and he proposes afterward to go to America, in hopes of obtaining jurisdiction over several EPISCOPAL CONGREGATIONS in Connecticut" (p. 165).

With such nettles as these were quickened the sluggish perceptions, which the claims of simple justice and modest worth had failed to reach.

By bringing to light facts which sustain these two considerations, as well as by relating the circumstances which were calculated to discourage the applicant for consecration, the book under review shows something of the obligation of the Church in this country to its subject, for the procurement of the Episcopate, and for its consequent existence as a lawful branch of the Kingdom of Christ. And the book supplies abundance of other facts, if time and occasion served for reference to them, which are calculated to deepen the sense of that obligation.

The procuring of the Episcopate, however, although essential as the beginning, was but the beginning, of the work which was to be done for the Church under its new conditions in this country. And this book preserves evidence that the part of Bishop Seabury in establishing the Church on a true and firm foundation was a most important one.

A feeling seems to have grown up in the Church that Bishop Seabury was rather an opposing force in the work of uniting the Church in the States. It is perhaps not difficult to see how this feeling might have arisen. The fact of an organization of the Church in several States prior to the procurement of bishops for those States; the fact that this organization, although not per-

fect, was yet begun in an informal way before the consecration of Bishop Seabury himself ; and the further fact that this organization did not, until quite matured, include the State for which he was consecrated, would certainly not point to him as the author or promoter of the plan upon which the organization was made. On the other hand, the knowledge that the chief credit for the design and execution of this plan was due to Bishop White ; and the eminent services of that wise and holy man given, in the Providence of God, to the guardianship of the Church for almost half a century after Bishop Seabury had been called to his rest, would lead subsequent generations to associate the unity of the Church in this country with the former, rather than with the latter, of these two names. But the honor due to Bishop White and others in this matter should not be permitted to lead to the impression that Bishop Seabury was adverse to the union. He was indeed a conservative or balancing force, but an opposing or antagonistic force he certainly was not.

It ought not to be, although it often is, overlooked, that our system is complex ; that it is in part of Divine authority and unchanging obligation, and in part also the result of human contrivance. It is indeed a combination of two distinct systems ; not necessarily inconsistent ; containing remarkable points of contact, upon the basis of which they may be, and have successfully been blended ; but at the same time resting on diametrically opposite principles—viz., the purely Episcopal or Church system, which contemplates a commission to govern lodged by Divine authority in the successors of the Apostles, and the political or conventional system, which contemplates a permission to govern, communicated by the people through their representatives to their rulers.* The relative parts of these two bishops in the promotion of unity can hardly be understood without reference to this distinction. Seabury was influenced by the Episcopal idea, and White by the Conventional idea. The desire of both was for the strengthening and perpetuating of the unity of the Churches, but they approached their object from different points of view ; and the fact that the Conventional aspect of our

* See this point more fully considered in a sermon recently published by Mr. James Pott, under the title of "Divine Authority, Catholic Precedent, Civil Analogy."

system has somewhat overshadowed, in popular estimation, the Episcopal aspect of it, has withdrawn from Bishop Seabury something of the honor which is his due. All his churchly instincts led him to desire that nothing should hinder the establishment of unity : but the same instincts made him solicitous to have that unity based upon those principles of faith and order which belonged to the original Constitution of the Church ; and disposed him to think that these principles formed a sufficient basis. To a man who believed that the Episcopate was the Divinely appointed bond of unity between different branches of the Church, and that this body had received the authority to govern the Church, there could not but appear something strange and unacceptable in the proposal of an ecclesiastical constitution which was based upon the principle of mutual concession and agreement ; which not only deprived the bishops of their proper authority, but also made them amenable to laws enacted, and subject to discipline exercised by inferior orders and laity ; and which, further, was accompanied by the proposal of such changes in the standards of faith and worship as he could not but regard as of extremely dangerous tendency. Far, however, from holding himself aloof from his brethren in other parts of the country, and contenting himself with the conformity of his own Church to the primitive standards of faith and order, he devoted his best efforts to the promotion of unity, and to the endeavor to procure a general recognition of such principles as he deemed essential to the resting of that unity upon a sound basis.

His letter of August 15th, 1785 (pp. 229-236), to the Rev. Dr. Smith, shows the principles upon which he acted, as well as the spirit of his actions, and is in itself a monument to his fame.

In regard to the restraints upon the Episcopal authority involved in the proposed constitution, he says (p. 232) :

"The choice of the bishop is in the presbyters, but the neighboring bishops, who are to consecrate him, must have the right of judging whether he be a proper person or not. The presbyters are the bishop's council, without whom he ought to do nothing but matters of course. The presbyters have always a check upon their bishop, because they can, neither bishop nor pres-

byter, do anything beyond the common course of duty without each other. I mean with regard to a particular diocese; for it does not appear that presbyters had any seat in general councils, but by particular indulgence.

The people being the patrons of the churches in this country, and having the means of the bishops' and ministers' support in their hands, have a sufficient restraint upon them. In cases that require it they can apply to their bishop, who with the assistance of his presbyters, will proceed, as the case may require, to censure, suspension, or deposition of the offending clergyman. If a bishop behaves amiss the neighboring bishops are his judges. Men that are not to be trusted with these powers are not fit to be bishops or presbyters at all.

* * * * *

"From what has been said you will suppose I shall object,

3. To the admission of lay members into synods, etc. I must confess I do, especially in the degree your fundamental rules allow. . . . I cannot conceive that the laity can with any propriety be admitted to sit in judgment on bishops and presbyters, especially when deposition may be the event; because they cannot take away a character which they cannot convey. . . . Should it be thought necessary that the laity should have a share in the choice of their bishop—if it can be put on a proper footing, so as to avoid party and confusion—I see not but that it might be admitted. But I do not apprehend that this was the practice of the primitive Church. In short, the rights of the Christian Church arise not from nature or compact, but from the institution of Christ, and we ought not to alter them, but to receive and maintain them as the holy apostles left them. The government, sacraments, faith, and doctrines of the Church are fixed and settled. We have a right to examine *what they are*, but we must take them *as they are*. If we new-model the government, why not the sacraments, creeds, and doctrines of the Church; but then it would not be Christ's Church, but *our* Church; and would remain so, call it by what name we please.

"I do therefore beseech the clergy and laity, who shall meet at Philadelphia, to reconsider the matter before a

final step be taken; and to endeavor to bring their Church government as near to the primitive pattern as may be. They will find it the simplest, and most easy to carry into effect, and if it be adhered to will be in no danger of sinking or failing. . . . In this matter I am not interested. My ground is taken, and I wish not to extend my authority beyond its present limits. But I do most earnestly wish to have our Church in all the States so settled that it may be one Church, united in government, doctrine and discipline—that there may be no divisions among us—no opposition of interests—no clashing of opinions. And permit me to hope that you will, at your approaching Convention, so far recede in the points I have mentioned as to make this practicable.”

In a letter to Dr. White, of January 18th, 1786 (p. 252), he says: “On the business of your Convention I can at present say nothing, because I know nothing but from report, and that I hope has exaggerated matters; for I should be much afflicted to find all true that is reported. . . . Your extending the power of the lay delegate, so far as your fundamental rules have done, I did then, and do now, most certainly disapprove of, particularly in the article relating to the bishop, who, if I rightly understand, is to be subject to a jurisdiction of presbyters and laymen. . . . I assure you no one will endeavor more to effect the cordial union of the Episcopal Church through the Continent than I shall, provided it be on Episcopal principles.”*

These extracts may suffice to show that if there was any objection to the general union of the Church throughout the States, it did not come from Bishop Seabury. The only thing that he desired was that this union should not be at the expense of fundamental principles. But the probability that these would continue to be neglected in other States made him almost despair of ever seeing the union effected, and led him at one time to take measures preparatory to the procurement of another consecration in Scotland as a step toward the canonical perpetuation of an independent succession. This plan was postponed in view of the now accom-

* Cf. also the letter of Seabury to White of June 29, 1789, pp. 349-356, in which the moderation of his views as to lay representation is manifested by his approval of the requirement of the assent of the Laity to laws which affect them equally with the Clergy.

plished consecration of bishops for New York and Pennsylvania. And upon their arrival in this country we find the first overture made by Bishop Seabury to them both for co-operation in the work of promoting the union of the churches. In his letter to Bishop Provoost (p. 299) he says: "You must be equally sensible with me of the present unsettled state of the Church of England in this country and of the necessity of union and concord among all its members in the United States of America, not only to give stability to it, but to fix it on its true and proper foundation. Possibly nothing will contribute more to this end than uniformity in worship and discipline among the churches of the different States." He then proposes a meeting of these two bishops with himself. He did not, however, receive that encouragement which he deserved; but, on the contrary, had to undergo the trial of much misconception, and to witness the manifestation of a desire to ignore him, which, had he not been the strong and honest Christian man that he was, would have been enough to disgust and discourage him. But the steady course which he pursued, and the real strength of his position, brought matters at last to such a condition as opened the way to him for the acceptance of the proposed constitution, now so far modified as to be free from the chief of the dangers which he had regarded as involved in it.

It is impossible to extend further these references. What has been cited may perhaps suggest the value of the work and the nature of the services which Bishop Seabury rendered to the Church. There are a great number of other matters which are worthy of notice, *e.g.*, his action in reference to the Communion office, and the doctrines which he inculcated—especially in his two admirable charges to his clergy—as to which the book is full, instructive, and interesting. Nor is it the smallest merit of this book that it collects and makes easily accessible many documents which have been hitherto unpublished, or printed only in various volumes. Some of these documents show that Bishop Seabury, amid his manifold discouragements, had at least the comfort of the moral support of a number of really powerful men; men who in soundness of faith, intellectual ability, and true spiritual-mindedness, would have adorned any age of the Church. Connecticut in particular stands out well in the representation of Leaming, and Jarvis, and

Bowden : a representation well associated with such men as Parker and Oliver, Chandler, Inglis and Moore, of neighboring churches ; but the book must be read to be appreciated. The author has done a faithful and patient work, and he deserves the thanks of those who revere the memory of Bishop Seabury, for having rendered to him a well-deserved tribute, and for having collated, and placed on record in permanent form, facts which prove him to have been worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance.

Where there is so much of positive good as to give abundant cause of gratitude to an author, it may seem ungracious to take exception to the negative faults of his work. It could not be expected that a work like the present could be so framed as to include all that every one might desire to see in it. But perhaps one may be permitted, without suspicion of disparagement to it, to note certain particulars in which it appears to him to be deficient ; although he will not affirm that the deficiencies referred to, necessarily, or for the use of the general reader, impair its value.

The plan which Dr. Beardsley seems to have had in mind has been to present an official portraiture of his subject. He apparently has not intended to produce, and certainly has not produced, the life of the man, so much as the picture of the bishop in his relations to the Church. The private character of the man is indeed to a considerable extent distinguishable through the media of his public acts ; nor could it well have been otherwise in the case of a man of such sturdy honesty and intense earnestness of purpose as was Bishop Seabury ; but certainly it would have been gratifying and useful to have seen that character illustrated, in other phases of life beside that official one with which Dr. Beardsley is chiefly occupied. The private and personal life of the Bishop, however, is scantily presented ; his intercourse with friends, family, and parishioners ; his general correspondence, with that insight into his views on questions of his day, and the reasons of those views, which such correspondence would be likely to furnish, find scarcely any place in the book. It may be that this paucity of information in regard to the life of the man as distinguished from the bishop will make the book serve its purpose the better. The age is not curious in respect to such matters. The world, at least the reading

world, knows of Bishop Seabury in his official character, and can attach some practical value to information in reference to the bearing and influence of that character, but has little use for his private history. Probably Dr. Beardsley has put together as much as will be likely to be read. But even so, there is a certain incompleteness about the book as a life.

And it must be further said that, admitting the value of an official treatment of his subject, and the advantage in certain respects of keeping as close to that aspect of it as the author has done, there are still some notable omissions.

Bishop Seabury in his public life stood related to principles of vital importance in regard to the government both of Church and State; and those who are interested in him no otherwise than as a public man have a right to look to his biographer for information as to those principles, and as to the character of those events in his life which called for the application of them. His support of the government in the colonies against the opposition which finally subverted it, was a part of his public life, and a part, too, which acquired additional significance from his clerical character. The fact of this support is well known, and is stated by the author. But as to the grounds upon which he based that support—as to the principles themselves which he really advocated, the author appears to have nothing better to offer than a sort of lameness of apology for what he either does not understand, or does not think it worth while to elucidate. At least there is nothing in the author's reference to his course which gives one any idea of his real ground. "Seabury did not sympathize with the vehement advocates for liberty. He knew that 'unbounded licentiousness in manners and insecurity to private property' must be the unavoidable consequence of extreme measures" (p. 25). "The policy of the Province was conservative; and Seabury, from the impulses of his nature and the convictions of his conscience, took the side of the Crown, and resolutely defended its measures, and used his influence in Westchester County to quiet the people, and prevent them from joining the Sons of Liberty" (p. 27). "The course of Seabury as a citizen and a minister of the Church was dignified and determined. If others wavered or changed, he was firm, and, like his clerical breth-

ren, felt it to be his duty to pray for the king and his government, in obedience to the oath which he had taken at his ordination. It is true, his language in his political pamphlets was more in the style of a violent partisan than of a discreet and godly clergyman ; but he was writing in the disguise of a farmer, and addressed himself to the plain yeomanry of the land in a way which would be sure to arrest their attention and work upon their convictions" (p. 34). "His loyalty was founded on the deepest convictions of duty, and he adhered to it at the expense of his ease and comfort" (p. 56).

Such commonplaces as these are somewhat disappointing. Most of them might, with equal propriety, be used of many of the Northern clergy of the day. They do not give one, who has no other source of information, any just idea of the real position of him to whom the author applies them ; and they are in so far misleading as that they are likely to leave one under the impression that he was simply a poor blind partisan of the doctrine of passive obedience, whose defence of the measures of the Crown was founded merely upon the fact that they were the measures of the Crown ; and that for this weakness one ought not to be too hard upon him, seeing that it was owing to the convictions of his conscience—the usual formula where apology implies condemnation. In all this there is a kind of taking for granted that he acted contrary to his duty to his country ; an assumption which may be natural from the standpoint of a citizen of the United States, but which is unfair in the historian of a period when the United States was yet unborn into the family of nations.

And how has it come to pass that the opportunity has been lost of vindicating the right of the Bishop to be known as the author of the Farmer pamphlets ? It is understood that these famous papers have been at different times attributed to others. To what would the inquirer more naturally turn for information as to this point than to the only life of Bishop Seabury ? Yet a reference to the book might well leave him with no accession of certainty. Except for the fact that a passage quoted from one of them (p. 35), is attributed to Bishop Seabury, it might be said that Dr. Beardsley had narrowly escaped not committing himself on the question. After observing (p. 28) that a certain pamphlet "was signed 'A. W. Farmer,' and attributed at

that time and since to Isaac Wilkins ;" and referring to the anonymous answer to this pamphlet as having been by Alexander Hamilton, "born, like Isaac Wilkins, in the West Indies" (p. 30); he continues: "But who was the spirited writer that signed himself 'A. W. Farmer?'" In answer to which he refers to a compact of Seabury with Chandler and Inglis, to watch and confute all publications that threatened mischief to the Church or to the British Government in America, and adds: "Out of this compact undoubtedly sprung 'Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia,' *which was from his pen, as were the other publications that immediately followed on the same side.* The words here italicized seem to contain the only positive statement which the author makes in reference to the controverted point; and even this statement is made without evidence offered to substantiate it, and with no direct citation of authority for the fact stated.

It may not be considered out of place that attention should here be called to the evidence that Bishop Seabury was the author of the pamphlets appearing under the name of A. W. Farmer; and that afterward some reference should be made to the contents of those pamphlets, as indicating the grounds upon which he supported the Government in the Colonies against the opposition which finally subverted it.

Under date of November 16th, 1774, with the signature of A. W. Farmer, appeared a pamphlet entitled "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia, September 5th, 1774," being addressed to "The Farmers and other inhabitants of North America in general, and to those of the Province of New York in particular;" an answer to which was published in the same year signed "A Friend to America," and entitled "A Full Vindication," etc.

Under date of November 28th, 1774, with the signature of A. W. Farmer, appeared another pamphlet entitled "The Congress Canvassed;" which seems from a postscript dated December 16th, 1774, to have been written before the author had seen the answer to the "Free Thoughts;" to which answer A. W. Farmer, under date of December 24th, 1774, replies in a pamphlet entitled "A View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies, etc., in a Letter to the Author of a Full Vindication," etc.

In evidence that A. W. Farmer was Bishop Seabury is first to be alleged the tradition in his family. The statement that Bishop Seabury was the author of the A. W. Farmer pamphlets was made to me by my father, as having been made to him by his father, the Rev. Charles Seabury, the son of the Bishop himself. In the second place is to be noted a statement in writing by the Bishop, in which he asserted his use of that signature. Among a mass of papers by, or relating to the Bishop, which were handed down to me by my father, is one in the handwriting of the Bishop, in which he gives an account of the compact referred to by Dr. Beardsley between himself and Drs. Chandler and Inglis, and mentions various contributions to the press of the day as having been written by himself, and among these several pamphlets "published under the signature of A. W. Farmer." The first and second of the above-named pamphlets, viz., "Free Thoughts," and "The Congress Canvassed," are in this statement specified by their titles. "The View of the Controversy" is not specified; but I presume it will not be questioned that the author of the first two was also the author of the third, which appeared under the same signature and was in reply to the answer to the first. In the third place are to be considered the statements of contemporaneous witnesses. In connection with the document of which Bishop Seabury's manuscript just mentioned appears to have been a draft, and referred to in it as intended to be used with it, were two certificates signed respectively by the Rev. Drs. Myles Cooper and Thomas B. Chandler. Copies of these two certificates in Bishop Seabury's handwriting, filed away with the draft, are with it in my possession. Among other things Dr. Cooper certifies that Seabury "wrote several pamphlets under signature of A. W. Farmer;" and Dr. Chandler certifies that the same person "wrote all the pieces and pamphlets of which [in the document above mentioned] he claims to have been the author."

In addition to these witnesses, testifies the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, A.M., and F.A.S., Vicar of Epsom, in the County of Surrey, to whom Dr. Chandler, in a letter printed by Dr. Beardsley (p. 178), refers as "a loyal clergyman from Maryland, the worthiest of the worthy, and one of the most confidential friends of Bishop Seabury;" and who is classed by Dr. Beards-

ley (p. 159) among those who, like the Bishop, "conscientiously believed that the resistance of the Colonies was unwise." In a foot-note to p. 556 of his "View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution" (London, 1797), Mr. Boucher thus gives his authority for a quotation, "See 'A View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies, p. 25, by A. W. Farmer;' that is, by the late Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut;" and attributes to him the authorship of several other pieces "under the same signature."

This evidence ought to be sufficient for the satisfaction of any candid inquirer into the authorship of these pamphlets. If it be not such evidence as would be required to prove the Bishop's case under legal process, at least I shall venture to think, until I see better evidence for the claim of another, that it satisfies the legal rule which requires the production of the best evidence that may be had, and of which the nature of the case admits.

On the other side it has been said, as I have been informed, that the Bishop denied his authorship of these pamphlets in the Memorial which he addressed to the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut in December, 1775, praying to be released from the confinement to which he was then subjected in New Haven by the advocates of liberty. This Memorial, printed in the life (p. 36), relates several charges made against him by the leaders of the mob who had confined him, the last of which was, "that he had written pamphlets and newspapers against the liberties of America," to which he rejoins (p. 38), "To the first and last of these charges your memorialist pleads not guilty, and will be ready to vindicate his innocence, as soon as he shall be restored to his liberty in that province to which only he conceives himself to be amenable," *i.e.*, New York.

A plea of "not guilty" to the charge of having written pamphlets which had been the principal reason of his arrest (p. 46), and the admission of which would not unlikely have sacrificed his life to the violence of a mob, is hardly equivalent to the denial of the authorship. And as to his being "ready to vindicate his innocence" upon his release, it should be remembered that the charge was, that he had written against "the liberties of America," which he could by no means admit. That this plea was not intended, or understood by his captors,

to deny his authorship of these pamphlets, appears from the way in which he alludes to his own course while under arrest. In his letter to the Society of December 29th, 1776, he remarks (p. 46), of the pamphlets appearing under the character of a farmer : " These were attributed to me, and were the principal reason of my being carried into Connecticut the last year. *If I would have disavowed these publications I should have been set at liberty in a few days ;* but as I refused to declare whether I were, or were not, the author, they kept me ;" while as to the nature of the attentions which he would have been likely to receive if he had *avowed* these publications the same letter gives some idea in describing the language of the detachments of rebel troops, who, as he says, " would every day or two, sometimes two or three times a day, come through Westchester, though five miles out of their way, and never failed to stop at my house, I believe only for the malicious pleasure of insulting me by reviling the king, the Parliament, Lord North, the Church, the bishops, the clergy, and the Society, and, above all, that vilest of all miscreants, A. W. Farmer. One would give one hundred dollars to know who he was, that he might plunge his bayonet into his heart ; another would crawl fifty miles to see him roasted ; but, happily for the Farmer, it was not in the power of any person in America to expose him."

In connection, too, with his written statement above mentioned, he refers to the charge which his captors brought against him in his imprisonment : " During which time," he says of himself, " they endeavored to fix the publication of A. W. Farmer's pamphlets upon him, which failing he was permitted to return home."

However, as Bishop Seabury cannot be proved to have denied himself in this matter, there will be some who would fain prove him to have denied his friend, his " ever dear " friend and fellow-sufferer, Isaac Wilkins. Dr. Beardsley, of course, is free from any such wish ; although it does seem as if he were not aware that the claim of the one was supported by any better evidence than that of the other. He docketts the " Free Thoughts," marked on one side, " attributed at the time and since to Isaac Wilkins ;" and marked on the other side as being from the pen of Bishop Seabury ; leaving an uninformed reader of his inscriptions to determine for himself whether he will accept the witness

of rumor on the one side, or the statement of the biographer on the other. Whether there be any foundation for the rumor which has attributed these pamphlets to Wilkins, other than the circumstance that Hamilton, who answered them, was born in the West Indies, as also was Wilkins, does not appear. Bolton, in his "History of the Church in Westchester County" (p. 112), in a sketch of Wilkins, seems to have been so open to the influence of this interesting coincidence as to consider needless any further warrant for attributing the pamphlets to Wilkins. "It is a singular circumstance," he observes "that the youthful Hamilton, who was also born in the West Indies, undertook the task of replying to two of his poetical [*sic*] effusions. One of them the 'Congress Canvassed,' etc., which was signed A. W. Farmer, was extensively circulated; and as well as that called 'A View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies,' was summarily disposed of whenever they fell into the hands of those whose measures they criticized and condemned." A like summary disposition of the question of their authorship appears to have been made by this writer, and may perhaps have been made by others, but such methods are not of much weight.

That the pamphlets were at the time attributed to Wilkins is like enough; but so they were to Cooper; and certainly they were to Seabury. The letters of Junius have been attributed to various persons. It is not remarkable that papers, appearing in times of great popular excitement, without the names of their proper authors, should be attributed to others than those authors. But when it is said that such papers were attributed to one; and that they were not only attributed to another, but also shown by independent, competent, and credible testimony to belong to another, there is no difficulty in determining between the two.

Perhaps I cannot better take leave of this question than by quoting further from the Rev. Mr. Boucher, a witness who testifies to Bishop Seabury's right, with the knowledge that this right had been disregarded to the advantage of another, who can hardly be supposed to have been Wilkins. Referring to the pamphlet mentioned in the note above cited, Mr. Boucher continues: "The fate of the excellent author of this well-written piece, and several others of not inferior merit under the

same signature, might well discourage any man who attempts to serve the public, if animated only by the hope of temporal rewards. When a missionary in the service of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, while the revolt was still in its infancy, he wrote several seasonable pieces, adapted to the capacities of the people, under the assumed character of a Farmer. They were generally acknowledged to have done much good. But, being attributed to another gentleman, he alone derived any personal advantage from them; for to him the British Government granted an handsome pension, whilst the real author never received a farthing. All the return that all his exertions procured for him, was imprisonment, persecution, and exile. By this country he was neglected and abandoned, and by that which gave him birth disowned; though a man of such transcendent abilities as would have been an ornament and a blessing to any country that had seen fit to patronize him."

Now of the matter of these pamphlets as furnishing fair evidence of the principles upon which their author grounded the course which he pursued in reference to civil affairs, it is impossible within the space of the present article to give a complete illustration. But a few extracts may be serviceable as showing that their author contended for principles of constitutional liberty, and not for simple submission to the measures of a ministry. Party names sometimes cleverly hit off distinguishing principles of those to whom they are applied, but sometimes they take their rise from circumstances merely incidental. To call a man a loyalist or a royalist may indicate his devotion to his king, but does not necessarily indicate, what may really be the substantial ground of his position, that he is devoted to the Constitution, of which the royal government is characteristic. In like manner to talk of the Revolutionary War as a contest "between the Crown and the people," meaning the contest between the Government of Great Britain and those who took possession of the Government of the Colonies, and who succeeded in retaining that possession, may be convenient; but it is in so far inaccurate as that it leaves out of sight the fact that the people of the Colonies were themselves divided upon the questions of the day, both in respect to the probable effect of measures upon their true interests, and as to the recti-

tude of the principles supposed to be affected by such measures. I pretend to no wisdom in such matters, but I profess that, from the best observation which I have been able to make upon the affairs of that day, I incline to the belief that this division between the people of the Colonies was more nearly even than has been generally assumed ; and that the issue of the struggle was the result of mismanagement and disaffectedness in England, rather than of the unity and strength of that portion of the people who claimed to be the people of the Colonies. However this may be, it is at least only fair, in estimating the political controversies of that period to remember that the questions which were argued were still open questions ; and that there was room for a difference of opinion, as to whether certain measures would prove beneficial or ruinous ; as to whether certain principles were or were not the principles of good government ; and as to whether certain of these principles were characteristic of that Constitution of government which belonged of right to the people of the Colonies. And throughout its wide range of topics, these are the real subjects of the discussion between the Farmer and his powerful antagonist ; a discussion of which, for grasp of subject, power of thought, dignity and eloquence of language, intensity of honest purpose on both sides—and keenness of wit and pungency of satire, albeit with some roughness of expression on the side of the Farmer—it will not be easy to produce the equal in any field of controversy ; and which, so far as it affected the reputation of Bishop Seabury, was worthy of a more extended notice and a less apologetic treatment than it has received at the hands of his biographer.

In the "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress," the Farmer says (p. 4) : "My first business shall be to point out to you some of the consequences that will probably follow from the Non-importation, Non-exportation, and Non-consumption agreements which they have adopted, and which they have ordered to be enforced in the most arbitrary manner, and under the severest penalties." This pamphlet has chiefly in view the practical questions thus indicated, which the Farmer argues at some length. The consequence of these measures, he says, may be discord, leading to mobs and riots in Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies—at least the Congress in-

tended this in some degree: "They intend to distress the manufacturers in Great Britain by depriving them of employment—to distress the inhabitants of Ireland by depriving them of flax seed and of a vent for their linens—to distress the West India people by withholding provisions and lumber from them, and by stopping the market for their produce. And they hope by these means to force them all to join their clamors with ours, to get the acts complained of repealed. This was the undoubted desire of the Congress when their agreements were framed, and this is the avowed design of their warm supporters and partisans in common conversation. But where is the justice, where is the policy of this procedure?" (p. 5.)

And again (p. 7): "When a trading people carelessly neglect, or wilfully give up any branch of their trade, it is seldom in their power to recover it. Should the Irish turn their trade for flax-seed to Quebec; and the West Indians get their flour, horses, etc., from thence, or other places; the loss to the farmers of this Province would be immense. The last non-importation scheme turned the Indian trade from New York down the river St. Lawrence; we are now repeating, with regard to our flour and flax-seed, the same blunder we then committed with regard to the Indian trade. The consequence, however, will be much worse. The loss of the Indian trade was a loss to the merchants only; but the loss of the flax-seed trade will be a loss to every farmer in the province; and a loss which he will severely feel."

. . . P. 10: "But no argument is like matter of fact. You have had one trial of a non-importation agreement some years ago. Pray how did you like it? Were the prices of goods raised on you then? You know they were. What remedy had you? A good Christian remedy, indeed, but a hard one—patience—and patience only. The honor of the merchants gave you no relief—confound their honor—it obliged me—it obliged many of you, to take old moth-eaten cloths that had lain rotting in the shops for years, and to pay a monstrous price for them." . . . P. 15: "But it is said that all legal processes are to be stopped, except in criminal cases—that is to say, the lower classes of people are to be deprived of their daily bread by being thrown out of employment by the non-exportation agreement; to prevent starving, many of them will be

tempted to steal ; if they steal they are to be hanged. The dishonest fellow, who owes money, may, by refusing payment, ruin his creditor ; but there is no remedy, no process is to be issued against him. This may be justice, but it looks so much like cruelty that a man of a humane heart would be more apt to call it by the latter than the former name. But pray by whose authority are the courts of justice to be shut up in all civil cases ? Who shall DARE to stop the courts of justice ?" . . . P. 16 : " Rouse, my friends, rouse from your stupid lethargy. Mark the men who shall dare to impede the course of justice. Brand them as the infamous betrayers of the rights of their country. The grand security of the property, the liberty, the lives of Englishmen consists in the due administration of justice. While the courts are duly attended to and fairly conducted, our property is safe. As soon as they are shut, everything is precarious ; for neither property nor liberty have any foundation to stand upon. Tell me not of Delegates, Congresses, Committees, Riots, Mobs, Insurrections, Associations—a plague on them all. Give me the steady, uniform, unbiassed influence of the courts of justice. I have been happy under their protection, and I trust in God I shall be so again." . . . P. 17 : " Let us now attend a little to the Non-consumption Agreement, which the Congress, in their association, have imposed upon us. After the first of March we are not to purchase or use any East India tea whatsoever ; nor any goods, wares, or merchandise from Great Britain or Ireland, imported after the first day of December next ; nor any molasses, syrups, etc., from the British plantations in the West Indies, or from Dominica ; nor wine from Madeira, or the Western Islands ; nor foreign indigo. Will you submit to this slavish regulation ? You must. Our sovereign lords and masters, the high and mighty Delegates, in Grand Continental Congress assembled, have ordered and directed it. They have directed the Committees in the respective Colonies to establish such further regulations as they may think proper, for carrying their association of which this Non-consumption agreement is a part, into execution. Mr. . . . , of New York, under the authority of their high mightinesses, the Delegates, by, and with the advice of his Privy Council, the Committee of New York, hath issued his mandate, bearing date November 7th, 1774,

recommending it to the freeholders and freemen to assemble on the 18th of November, to choose eight persons out of every ward to be a committee to carry the Association of the Congress into execution. The business of the committee so chosen is to be, to inspect the conduct of the inhabitants, and see whether they violate the association. Among other things whether they drink any tea or wine in their families, after the first of March ; or wear any British or Irish manufactures, or use any English molasses, etc. . . . If they do, their names are to be published in the Gazette, that they may be *publicly known and universally contemned as foes to the Rights of British America and enemies of American Liberty.* And then *the parties of the said Association will respectively break off all dealings with him or her.* In plain English, they shall be considered as outlaws, unworthy of the protection of civil society, and delivered over to the vengeance of a lawless outrageous mob, to be *tarred, feathered, hanged, drawn, quartered, and burnt.* O rare American freedom !" . . . P. 18: "Will you be instrumental in bringing the most abject slavery upon yourselves? Will you choose such committees? Will you submit to them, should they be chosen by the weak, foolish, turbulent part of the country people? Do as you please ; but by HIM that made me, I will not. No, if I must be enslaved, let it be by a KING at least, and not by a parcel of upstart, lawless committee-men. If I must be devoured, let me be devoured by the jaws of a lion, and not *gnawed* to death by rats and vermin."

This is the passage which his biographer quotes to substantiate the statement (p. 34), that "his language was more in the style of a violent partisan than of a discreet and godly clergyman," and for which he apologizes as coming from one who "was writing in the disguise of a farmer," etc. No doubt, "by Him that made me" is a periphrasis for an expletive far too common among the farmers to this day. This expression, and one that I shall quote by-and-bye, would have been better omitted, and may be allowed to be more in the style of a violent *farmer* than of a discreet and godly clergyman. To produce this extract, however, even with the oath, as a specimen of the whole language of the writer, and in proof of partisanship, is unjust ; and if the passage be considered apart from that slip of passion, it certainly is

not without rhetorical merit as a fair piece of invective. And suppose we transfer the scene to the present time, and imagine our houses, our families, our clothes, our personal habits to be inspected by a set of committeemen, appointed by a body unknown to the law of the land which had given us birth, and ourselves advertised in the daily papers as objects of contempt to our fellow-citizens, because we had been found eating or drinking or wearing what the law of the land permitted us, as it had permitted our fathers before us, to eat, drink, and wear! I incline to believe that there would be some pretty strong expressions even among discreet and godly clergymen—if not in New Haven, at least in New York. Yet this was exactly the state of affairs which the Farmer resented. And if it be said that the Farmer's resentment was more than that of a righteous indignation, then it must also be allowed that the outrage of fundamental rights of constitutional liberty furnishes no just occasion for such indignation, for certainly the voice of the Farmer has in it a ring of liberty conserved by law, which can find no counterpart in mere partisanship, and which no citizen of the United States need be ashamed to echo.

"Did you choose your Supervisors," he continues (p. 18), "for the purpose of enslaving you? What right have they to fix up advertisements to call you together, for a very different purpose from that for which they were elected? Are our Supervisors our masters? And should half a dozen foolish people meet together again, in consequence of their advertisements, and choose themselves to be a committee, as they did in many districts in the affair of choosing Delegates, are we obliged to submit to such a committee? You ought, my friends, to assert your own freedom. Should such another attempt be made upon you, assemble yourselves together; tell your Supervisor that he has exceeded his commission; that you will have no such committees; that you are Englishmen, and will maintain your rights and privileges, and will eat, drink, and wear whatever the public laws of your country permit, without asking leave of any illegal, tyrannical Congress or Committee on earth.

"But, however, as I said before, do as you please; if you like it better, choose your committee, or suffer it to be chosen by half a dozen fools in your neighborhood—open your doors to them—let them examine your tea-

canisters and molasses jugs, and your wives' and daughters' petty-coats—bow and cringe, and tremble, and quake—fall down and worship our Sovereign Lord the Mob. But I repeat it, by H—n, I will not. No ; my house is my castle ; as such I will consider it, as such I will defend it, while I have breath. No *king's* officer shall enter it without my permission, unless supported by a warrant from a magistrate. And shall my house be entered, and my mode of living inquired into by a domineering committee-man ? Before I submit, I will die ; live *you*, and be slaves."

Apropos of the "strong language," in regard to which the Farmer's antagonist quite agrees with his biographer, it is amusing to observe the Farmer's retort, in his "View of the Controversy," etc., (p. 34), "You give me a hint about swearing," he says : "I have profited by it, and intend never to swear more. I wish you would take a hint about fibbing. It is rather a meaner quality than that of rapping out a little now and then." This after a few specimens (p. 33), "Almost every paragraph contains half a dozen fibs. Let me try the first, as it is most handy. You say that you 'love to speak the truth,' *one* ; that you '*scorn to prejudice* the farmers in favor of what you have to say,' *two* ; 'by taking upon you a fictitious character,' *three*, for you subscribe yourself *a friend to America* ; that I am not in reality a 'farmer,' *four* ; but 'some ministerial emissary,' *five* ; 'that has assumed the name to deceive,' *six* ; the very next words contain another ; but I will stop, or I shall betray my inability to enumerate more than nine fingers." And again in the same strain (p. 34), "Your next attempt is upon the imaginations of the farmers. You endeavor to fright them from obeying the Parliament, by representing to them the danger of having taxes laid upon their tables, and chairs, and platters, and dishes, and knives, and forks, and everything else—and "even every kiss their daughters received from their sweethearts," and that, you say, would soon *ruin* them. No reflections, Sir, upon farmers' daughters ; they love kissing, 'tis true, and so did your mother, or you would scarce have made your appearance among us.

"But I have a scheme worth all this table, and chair, and kiss taxing. I thought of it last night, and I have a violent inclination to write to Lord North about it by the very next packet. It pleases me hugely, and I think

must please his Lordship, as it would infallibly enable him to pay the annual interest of the national debt, and I believe to sink principal and all in fourteen years. It is no more than a moderate tax of fourpence a hundred upon all the fibs, falsehoods, and misrepresentations of you and your party, in England and America."

But to return to business. The greater part of the "Free Thoughts" consists in a consideration of the probable consequences of the measures of the Congress, as to which there was certainly room for a fair difference of opinion; with briefer reference to the questions of principle at stake in the controversy. "The Congress Canvassed," addressed to the merchants of New York; and the "View of the Controversy" addressed to the "Friend to America," who had answered the "Free Thoughts," discuss questions of principle more fully, and are written in more careful style and generally with graver tone. But the same remark is applicable to all; the object is the defence of a constitutional system, and not partisanship for the king, ministry, or even parliament. I must be brief in my selections, for I wish not to enter into the controversy, but only to show the Farmer in his true light.

And, first, as to the question whether the Congress were truly the representatives of the people, or owed their apparently representative character to an attempt to manufacture public opinion. In the "Congress Canvassed," p. 8, the Farmer says, "Even in this province many undue and unfair advantages were taken You had no right to dictate to the counties in what manner they should proceed. You had no right to suppose that those districts or those people who did not assemble were in your favor. The contrary ought to have been supposed and you ought to have considered those people and districts who did not assemble as not choosing to have any Delegates in Congress at all. The people of your city can easily assemble; they have but a short walk to the City Hall or coffee-house. But it is not easy to assemble the people of a country district. Besides, it is well known by all those who know anything of human nature, that those people who are fond of innovations in government, and of rendering themselves conspicuous in their neighborhood, would be most likely to assemble on such an occasion. And so it accordingly happened; for it is notorious that in some

districts only three or four met and *chose themselves* to be a committee on this most important occasion. So that taking the whole Province together, I am confident your delegates had not the voice of an hundredth part of the people in their favor. You may say that the people might have assembled; and if they did not their silence was to be taken for their consent. Not so fast, gentlemen. That they might have assembled, I know; but had your committee, or their own Supervisors, any right to *call* them together? Were they under any obligations to obey such notifications as a Supervisor's advertisement founded on the authority of a New York Committee? You know they were not, and because they did not choose to obey it, must their rights and privileges be given up to be torn and mangled and trampled on by an enthusiastic Congress?"

And further, in anticipation of the argument that "the Delegates from several of the governments were appointed by their Assemblies; by the true and legal representatives of the people; and therefore were the true and legal Delegates of the people" (p. 10): "Nor is it clear to me that the Legislature of any province have a power of appointing delegates to such a congress as lately met at Philadelphia. I am certain no provincial legislature can give them *such* powers as were lately exercised at Philadelphia. The legislative authority of any province cannot extend further than the province extends. None of its acts are binding one inch beyond its limits. How then can it give authority to a few persons to meet other persons, from other provinces, to make rules and laws for the whole continent? In such a case the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, and the four New England States, might make laws to bind Philadelphia, New Jersey, and New York; that is—they might make laws whose operation should extend further than the authority by which they were enacted—extended. Before such a mode of legislation can take place, the Constitution of our Colonies must be subverted, and *their present independency on each other must be annihilated.*"

And then as to the catchword of the day, "No taxation without representation" (p. 18): "But what right had the Congress to give what did not belong to them? to give your money . . . without your consent? But I forget myself—they first proclaimed themselves your representatives, and then of course they had an

undoubted, legal, constitutional right to all your substance. For you know, gentlemen, that *representation* and *taxation* go together. God and nature hath joined them. But how, on this principle, you can keep your money out of the harpy claws of the Congress, I cannot conceive. . . . I know not how you will help yourselves, unless you have prudence enough to recur to the first principles of government. And then you will find that *legislation* and *taxation* go together; and that no government ever yet had a being where they were divided."

The point here touched the Farmer refers to again in his reply to his adversary, "A View of the Controversy," etc. (p. 10): "The position that we are bound by no laws to which we have not consented either by ourselves, or our representatives, is a novel position, unsupported by any authoritative record of the British Constitution, ancient or modern. It is republican in its very nature, and tends to the utter subversion of the English monarchy.

"This position has arisen from an artful change of terms. To say that an Englishman is not bound by any laws but those to which the representatives of the nation have given their consent, is to say what is true; but to say that an Englishman is bound by no laws but those to which *he* hath consented in person, or by *his* representative, is saying what never was true, and never can be true. A great part of the people of England have no vote in the choice of representatives, and therefore are governed by laws to which they never consented either by *themselves* or by their representatives."

Whether or not the Farmer's arguments, as to this point, were sounder than that of his antagonist, who afterward developed, as Judge Shea, in his *Life of Hamilton*, has taught us, into the master mind of the framers of the Constitution of the United States, I will not contend. But it is certainly not a little remarkable that it should at once have been found necessary to insert into this very Constitution (art. I. § 2) a proviso, excluding, from the number of those who were in theory represented, two fifths of a certain class of persons; while the whole of that class of persons (*i.e.*, the slaves), and many other persons besides (*i.e.*, women and children), were, in practice, obliged to obey laws to which they never assented either in person or by repre-

sentatives of their own choice : not to speak of the concession to the principle of "legislation and taxation," implied in leaving to States, wherein suffrage was limited by a property qualification, the right to prescribe the manner of holding elections (art. I. § 4), including the qualifications of electors.

And, with reference to the application of his principle to the case of the Colonies, the Farmer holds language, which, *territory* being substituted for *colony*, will be found to state good American doctrine, applied by the Government of the United States on exactly the same foundation of reason as that by which the action of the Government of Great Britain was justified.

"This supreme authority extends as far as the British dominions extend. To suppose a part of the British dominions which is not subject to the power of the British Legislature, is no better sense than to suppose a country at one and the same time to be and not to be a part of the British dominions. If, therefore, the Colony of New York be a part of the British dominions, the colony of New York is subject, and dependent on the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain. Legislation is not an inherent right in the Colonies. Many colonies have been established and subsisted long without it. The Roman Colonies had no legislative authority. It was not till the later period of the Republic that the privileges of Roman citizens, among which that of voting in the assemblies of the people at Rome was a principal one, were extended to the inhabitants of Italy. All the laws of the Empire were enacted at Rome. Neither their colonies nor conquered countries had anything to do with legislation." ("View of the Controversy," etc., p. 9.)

Compare Chancellor Kent (Comm., i., 384 n.) : "The Government of the United States, which can lawfully acquire territory by conquest or treaty, must, as an inevitable consequence, possess the power to govern it. The Territories must be under the dominion and jurisdiction of the Union, or be without any government ; for the Territories do not, when acquired, become entitled to self-government, and they are not subject to the jurisdiction of any State. They fall under the power given to Congress by the Constitution." And Congress, in the exercise of that power (p. 258), "have erected temporary governments," in those Territories,

"and have appointed the officers to each Territory, and allowed delegates in Congress to be chosen by the inhabitants every second year and with a right to debate, but *not to vote*, in the House of Representatives."

And Chief Justice Marshall (quoted by Kent, p. 385) rather unwillingly witnessed to the operation of the same principle. If the Government of the United States should colonize the country west of the Rocky Mountains, he says, "It would be a long time before it would be populous enough to be created into one or more independent States; and in the meantime upon the doctrine taught by the acts of Congress, and even by the judicial decisions of the Supreme Court, the colonists would be in a state of the most complete subordination, and as dependent upon the will of Congress as the people of this country would have been upon the King and Parliament of Great Britain, if they could have sustained their claim to bind us in all cases whatsoever."

And so the naughty farmer does not appear to have been such a bad American after all. Perhaps that may suggest the reason why at the close of the war "Dr. Seabury, whatever may have been his course hitherto, had no disposition to flee from his country" (p. 72); and why he continued for the remainder of his life as good a citizen of the United States as he had been a subject of the Crown of Great Britain. Perhaps, too, enough has been said to lead one to suspect that if the entire series were considered it might appear that the language of the pamphlets was on the whole not unbecoming a discreet and godly clergyman, and not such as to stand in any great need of apology.

On the contrary, the farmer and his antagonist as well—so far as appears from his professions, which there is probably no fair reason to mistrust—were actuated by one and the same grand idea, the preservation of the integrity of the British Empire, with the safeguard, to the American members of that Empire, of a constitutional recognition of their just rights. The controversy was as to the methods adopted for the attainment of the desired end, and the principles which those methods involved. "I imagine," says the Farmer ("View," etc., p. 21), "that if all internal taxation be vested in our own legislatures, and the right of regulating trade by duties, bounties, etc., be left in the power of the Parliament, and also the right of enacting all general laws for the good

of all the Colonies, that we shall have all the security for our rights, liberties, and property, which human policy can give us. The dependence of the Colonies on the mother country will be fixed on a firm foundation; the sovereign authority of Parliament over all the dominions of the empire will be established, and the mother country and all her colonies will be knit together in ONE GRAND, FIRM, AND COMPACT BODY."

But whatever mode might "be thought proper to attempt the settlement of an American Constitution in," he scouted the one adopted by the Congress, predicting that it would come to exactly what it did come to, the severance of the British Empire. The credit for furthering such an end he freely leaves to his adversary, but for himself—"Be it my glory," he says (p. 23), "to have contributed, even in the smallest degree, to the honor, splendor, and majesty of the British Empire. My ancestors were among the first Englishmen who settled in America. I have no interest but in America. I have not a relation out of it that I know of. Yet, let me die! but I had rather be reduced to the last shilling than that the imperial dignity of Great Britain should sink, or be controlled by any people or power on earth."*

So much space has been devoted to our better acquaintance with the farmer, that a further cause of regret suggested by the life must be touched upon but briefly, and in conclusion. With all deference, I venture to think that in respect to another set of principles touched by the life of the Bishop, the author has lost an important opportunity.

The comparison between the Scotch and English lines of Episcopal succession, is one which was made by many, in the time of Bishop Seabury, to the disadvantage of the former. To this day there is a scruple, in some partially Erastianized minds, which draws them in the same direction; while the extent of the ignorance of the Scotch succession; the want of information and the excess of misinformation as to the true position of the consecrators of Bishop Seabury is, if not surprising, at least unfortunate.

* The following language, contained in "The Farmer Refuted" (pp. 16, 17), is significant as showing that *independence* and *separation* were not in the views of that day (1775) altogether synonymous terms; and as showing also the apparent absence from Hamilton's mind, at this period, of the thought that separation would be a *necessary* consequence of independence. It is further interesting as indicating the germ of that idea of *duality*

It appears (p. 255), that in the meeting of delegates of the churches in several States, held in Philadelphia in 1786—a meeting which was one of the preliminary steps toward a common organization of these churches—there was an indirect assault upon Bishop Seabury by a motion “that the clergy present produce their letters of orders or declare by whom they were ordained.” Though the motion was lost, another, offered by the Rev. Mr. Provoost, who had secured authority to this effect from the convention in New York, struck at the validity of ordinations by the Bishop of Connecticut. Under the influence of a sedative draught administered by Dr. White, the meeting adopted a more guarded resolution. Not satisfied with this, however, the Rev. Robert Smith, of South Carolina, the next morning introduced a resolution which was adopted with unanimity, in the following words (p. 256): “That it be recommended to the Convention of the Church represented in this General Convention, not to admit any person as a minister within their respective limits, who shall receive ordination from any bishop residing in America, during the application now pending to the English bishops for Episcopal consecration.”

which was afterward his peculiar contribution to the United States system of government. (See Shea's “Hamilton,” p. 100.)

“It is in vain to assert that two or more distinct legislatures cannot exist in the same State. If by the same State be meant the same individual community, it is true. Thus, for instance, there cannot be two supreme legislatures in Great Britain or two in New York. But if by the same State be understood a number of individual societies or bodies politic united under one common head, then I maintain that there may be one in Great Britain, another in Ireland, and another in New York, and still these several parts may form but one State. In order to this there must, indeed, be some connecting, pervading principle; but this is found in the person and prerogative of the king. He it is that conjoins all these individual societies into one great body politic. He it is that is to preserve their mutual connection and dependence, and make them all co-operate to one common end—the general good. . . . Those who aver that the independency of America on the British Parliament implies two sovereign authorities in the same State deceive themselves, or wish to deceive others in two ways: by confounding the idea of the same State with that of the same individual society, and by losing sight of that share which the king has in the sovereignty both of Great Britain and America. . . . In this view there is not the least absurdity in the supposition that Americans have a right to a limitation similar to that of the people of Great Britain. At any rate there can never be said to be two sovereign powers in the same State; whilst *one common king* is acknowledged by every member of it. Let us for a moment imagine the legislature of New York independent on that of Great Britain: where would be the mighty inconvenience? . . . In what manner would they interfere with each other? In none that I can perceive.”

In consequence, then, of an attack upon the validity of ordinations by Bishop Seabury, this convention, though not affirming their invalidity, recommended that those ordained by him should not be received as ministers during the pending application to England.

Now, when it is considered that an ordination by any bishop cannot be *invalid*, unless his own consecration to the Episcopate has been invalid ; and when it is considered further that to charge a man with the invalidity of his Episcopal order, is, from an ecclesiastical point of view, equivalent to the charge of illegitimacy against him, from a social point of view ; it appears to be a very grave matter for a biographer to show that the subject of his biography was thus treated, as one under suspicion of being open to such a charge, without going further, and showing, in such a manner as could not be disputed, that such charge was wholly unfounded, and the suspicion gratuitous. To one familiar with the history of the Church, and with the subsequent recognition of Bishop Seabury, it might perhaps be unnecessary to explain the grounds upon which the validity of his orders rested. But this book will have many readers of another class who might be excusable for being influenced by the impression that Bishop Seabury's orders being disputed, were recognized indeed, but only for the sake of peace. Nor would that impression be likely to be weakened by the scrupulous unwillingness of Bishop White to commit himself to the project of the consecration of a fourth bishop, by the united action of himself and Provoost with Seabury (p. 358-9), and the stubborn refusal of Provoost to unite in any consecration until the complement of three in the English line had been filled (p. 367). It is true that the slur cast by the Convention of 1786 appears to have been withdrawn in the Convention 1789 (p. 359), but still the refusal to unite with Bishop Seabury in the highest function of the Episcopal office was persisted in until a third consecration in the English line had been secured in the person of Dr. Madison. And although in point of fact the Scotch line, through Bishop Seabury's co-operation in the consecration of Dr. Claggett, touches the consecration of every bishop in the United States, yet inasmuch as the consecration of Claggett would have been completely valid and regular without that co-operation, the *necessary* dependence of the American line upon the

Scotch line cannot be alleged ; and thus, the inference was bequeathed to posterity, that there was *something* about the Scotch line which made the founders of our conventional system fearful to trace the derivation of their Episcopate to it. The man who procured the Episcopate for this country ; who bore all the brunt of the labor and battle that were necessary to secure it ; without whose noble self-sacrifice and fearless and indomitable perseverance it probably never would have been received, is slighted and insulted for having secured it, and is, by inevitable inference, deliberately and of set purpose handed down to posterity as unnecessary to its transmission. Surely, if ever biographer were called upon to demonstrate the rectitude and impregnability of the position of his subject, and to show the utter worthlessness of the grounds upon which he was rewarded with such an irreparable humiliation, it was the biographer of Bishop Seabury. To treat the case upon the hypothesis that the Scotch and English lines are practically the same so far as their validity is concerned would be well enough in a life of Bishop White or Bishop Provost ; but the biographer of Seabury had a fair opportunity to do more than this. And it would have added lustre to his reputation, as well as enhanced his claims upon the esteem of his reader, if he had stated broadly and firmly the true principles of order and jurisdiction, and not only assumed that the Scottish line was as good as the English, but asserted that it was positively, and in itself considered, such a succession as Scriptural and Catholic rules required ; leaving it to the successors of the nominees of William of Orange to show, if they pleased, that the English succession was as good as the Scotch.

All things considered the present volume is an admirable contribution to our home Church History. As the first in its field, as a trustworthy register of facts, and a careful compilation of documents, it will always hold a high place in the estimation of those who are interested in that history ; and will continue to be a book without which the library of no churchman, either clergyman or layman, will be complete.

WILLIAM JONES SEABURY.

THE LIFE OF CICERO.*

We congratulate the literary public on this effort to vindicate the reputation of an ancient worthy, always, until within a few years past, associated in the minds of classic students, whether young or old, with a sense of indebtedness and veneration. And we congratulate the author on the character of his work as appreciative, scholarly and successful. This prefatory meed of praise will not deter us from any unfavorable criticism the methods or texture of the work may justly provoke. An honest and able defense of Cicero is both justifiable and timely. Mommsen, although not positively and seriously unjust in his estimate of the motives, acts and character of the great rhetorician, evidently looked at him through a medium of prejudice. He *would* not or *could* not see him in "dry light." This may be accounted for by the fact that his sympathies were enlisted and absorbed by men of quite another make and mould. Hence it is not necessary to cavil at Mommsen's portrait, for while it is not entirely life-like, because of inability to put himself en rapport with his subject, it certainly is not the work of a malicious caricaturist.

* The Life of Cicero. By Anthony Trollope. In Two Vols. New York: Harper & Bros., Franklin Square. 1881. Price \$3.

Froude, as the biographer of Cæsar, seemed, at the outset, to confront Cicero as an antagonist to the successful performance of his task, and to be misled by the fancy that the fame of the one involved the defamation of the other. Hence no opportunity is suffered to pass unimproved of imputing censurable motives or of attributing ignoble ends to Cicero. He is as much the accuser of Cicero as he is the attorney of Cæsar, while professedly giving to the world a truthful and authentic biography of the latter. We have no desire, neither is it in the line of our task, to find fault with Mr. Froude's work, except to say that in showing Cæsar to be "the foremost man of all the world" he has gratuitously and unnecessarily laid an assassin's hand upon one who has secured an immortality of fame as well deserved as that of his own hero.

Mr. Trollope was fully aware, when he entered upon his labors, of what success such writers as Forsyth, Dean Merivale, De Quincey, Mommsen and Froude, had met in reversing the earlier judgment of the scholarly class on Cicero, for he expressly says that in all his conferences with classical scholars, he never met one who agreed with him. "His intellect they have admitted and his industry; but his patriotism they have doubted, his sincerity they have disputed and his courage they have denied." His pertinent reply to this is, "In judging of such a character a hard and fast line will certainly lead us astray. In judging of Cicero such a hard and fast line has too generally been used. He was a man singularly sensitive to all influences. It must be admitted that he was a vane, turning on a pivot finer than those on which statesmen have generally been made to work. He had none of the fixed purpose of Cæsar, or the unflinching principle of Cato. They were men cased in brass, whose feelings nothing could hurt. They suffered from none of those inward flutterings of the heart, doubtful aspirations, human longings, sharp sympathies, dreams of something better than this world, fears of something worse which make Cicero so like a well-bred polished gentleman of the present day. It is because he was so little like a Roman that he is of all the Romans the most attractive."

Trollope certainly, more than Froude, recognizes the fact that Cicero and Cæsar were both great personalities, yet unlike in all the essentials of character or

at least in the combination of elements. Both were marked egotists, restively ambitious of popular favor and honestly patriotic as far as a love of country is compatible with strong self-assertion and self-seeking. They differed, however, in their theories of what constituted the needs of the crisis, or the public weal, and also as to the methods by which it was to be secured. Cicero was an optimist of most pronounced type. He never despaired of the Republic, and, even when its decadence was seen by all leaders and factions, when the ligatures of society were loosened and the entire social and civil structure seemed ready to lapse into disintegration and ruin, he still prognosticated ultimate good, and in the perspective always beheld himself as the elected saviour of its life and glory. Neither the treachery of friends, nor the vacillation of the citizens, neither the failure in official aspiration nor the disgrace of exile, neither the turbulence of the assembly nor the factious contests of the Senate could banish from his vision Rome in the transfiguration of freedom. Notwithstanding all the despondency and croaking petulance so often confided to his friend Atticus, this was the abiding background of the picture, changeful as it was by reason of daily doubt and turmoil.

Cæsar doubtless more accurately diagnosed the times, and his military genius, with its promptitude and courage, supplemented by his ambition, suggested the heroic remedy. Here the eulogists of Cæsar very ungenerously and ingeniously contrast the two men, and Cicero is made to look like a weak and cowardly trimmer, or base poltroon, in comparison with the frank, stalwart and heroic Cæsar. Mr. Trollope insists upon the fact the erroneous judgments and wilful accusations of Mr. Froude *et al*, have been based upon Cicero's private letters to Atticus and to his brother. These were so far confidential and free that he indulged in rollicking expression of his moods, and should not be used to impugn his character. His life was open to the citizens of Rome, and no such estimate of his character was formed by his compeers, or by those who dealt with his name for the hundred and fifty years after his death—from the time of Augustus down to that of Adrian—a period much given to literature, in which the name of a politician and a man of literature would assuredly be much discussed.

These books are evidently the result of a "labor of love," with Mr. Trollope, and we think he has done much to re-establish the great Roman on the pedestal from which he had been rudely and ruthlessly removed. While they are plethoric, by reason of dilution and repetition, yet they excite interest at the outset and maintain it increasingly to the end. This doubtless arises, in large measure, from the peculiarities and habits of mind generated by his novel writing. He has been compelled to study, analyze and construct personalities. This necessitated familiarity with separate qualities, with accordant combinations to make symmetrical concrete character. The quick perception, ready versatility and manifold resources of imagination, demanded by such work, constitute a grand qualification for the biographer. They might not equip an author so thoroughly to write the history of a travailing period or nation, for then there are elements of an epic or dramatic character to be considered and adequately presented, but biography is individualistic and more real, and we are seldom to be startled by thought, passion, or action, that have not been, more or less, common to the men of every age.

We cannot follow, in this notice, the different stages of his work. To give an idea, however, of his method and material, we quote an opening paragraph from Chapter VI., Volume I. "There are six episodes, or, as I may say, divisions, in the life of Cicero, to which special interest attaches itself. The first is the accusation against Verres, in which he drove the miscreant howling out of the city. The second is his consulship, in which he drove Catiline out of the city, and caused certain other conspirators who were joined with the arch-rebel to be killed, either legally or illegally. The third was his exile, in which he himself was driven out of Rome. The fourth was a driving out, too, though of a more honorable kind, when he was compelled, much against his will, to undertake the government of a province. The fifth was Cæsar's passing the Rubicon, the battle of Pharsalia, and his subsequent adherence to Cæsar. The sixth was his internecine combat with Antony, which produced the Philippics, and that memorable series of letters, in which he strove to stir into flames the expiring embers of the Republic."

In the closing part of the chapter on Cicero's death (Chapter X., Volume II.), he says, "but his character as

a man has been held to be tarnished by three faults—dishonesty, cowardice, and insincerity. That he should have asked for nothing, that he should have taken no illicit rewards, that he should not have submitted to be fed, but that he should have kept his hands clean while all around him were grasping at everything, taking money, selling their aid for stipulated payments, grinding miserable creditors, has been too much for men to believe. The accusations have been made, by men clean-handed themselves, but to them it has appeared unreasonable to believe that a Roman oligarch of those days should be an honest gentleman.” “True courage to any thinking man consists not in facing an unavoidable danger. Any man worthy of the name can do that. The felon that will be hung to-morrow shall walk up to the scaffold and seem ready to surrender the life he cannot save. But he who, with the blood running hot through his veins, with a full desire of life at his heart, with high aspirations as to the future, with everything around him to make him happy, love, and friendship, and pleasant work, when he can willingly imperil all because duty requires it, he is brave. Of such a nature was Cicero’s courage. As to the third charge, that of insincerity—I would ask of my readers to bethink themselves how few men are sincere now. Cicero flattered men and loved it better. We are fond of praise, and all but ask for it. Cicero was fond of it, and *did* ask for it. But when truth was demanded from him, truth was there. Look at his whole life with Pompey—as to which we see his little insincerities of the moment because we have his letters to Atticus; but he was true to his political idea of a Pompey long after that Pompey had faded from his dreams. For twenty years we have every thought of his heart. What if we had Pompey’s thoughts and Cæsar’s? Could Cæsar have told us all his feelings?”

The last four chapters of the second volume, Cicero’s Rhetoric, Philosophy, Moral Essays, Religion, are not the least enjoyable portion of what Mr. Trollope has given to vindicate the character and fame of his hero. They, however, as topics, have not entered into the controversy touching his character as a man, citizen, and officer of State. Even Froude’s hyper-criticism quails before the oratory and rhetorical glory of the slandered Statesman.

E. F. STEWART.

THE PASSION.

An anonymous French hymn ("*Lorsque Jesus souffrait pour tout*") inscribed upon the principal gate of the cemetery which formerly surrounded the Church of *Sainte-Trinité*, in Cherbourg; dating probably from the XVII century, and recently published (in French) for the first time.

When Jesus suffered for the human race,
Pale Death, in terror at the awful deed,
Withdrew his vengeful hand, resigned his place,
Nor dared to make his mighty Master bleed.

But Jesus bowed His head and signal gave,
That He, Who came in mercy from the skies
The soul of fallen man from sin to save,
Feared not to make th' atoning sacrifice.

Th' Implacable obeyed—and at his stroke
All nature trembled to its lowest base;
Night o'er the sun spread out her sable cloak,
As tho' the world had run its destined race.

All groaned in anguish at the awful shock—
High heaven, wild ocean, earth's remotest part—
Only the sinner had a heart of rock,
When rocks were gifted with a human heart!

J. ANKETELL.

DOES BELIEF IN THE INCARNATION INVOLVE BELIEF IN MIRACLE?

That form of religious belief which recognizes the truth of the Incarnation and accepts the Catholic doctrine of the perfect deity of Christ, yet denies any miraculous element in Christianity, may be considered a strange phenomenon; but it is one with which those who have followed the course of neological thought in our time are not unfamiliar.* It distinctly emerges to view in the "Scotch Sermons of 1880," which have had so wide a circulation. Thus one of the writers in that volume affirms that the great battle of the last century over the credibility or incredibility of miracle "was an affair of outposts altogether," and touched "no vital point of revelation." Now it is doubtless true that the miracles of the New Testament have not for later ages the same evidential value as for the first age of the Church; nor the same for this age as for the last; and, accordingly, our best writers on Apologetics now concentrate their defence rather upon the Person of Christ than upon His miracles, holding that *for us* the superhuman character and work of Christ constitutes the guarantee for His miracles, rather than His miracles the

* Cf. however, Schleiermacher's view, which presents points of coincidence with this.

guarantee for His superhuman personality. But it will be observed that the writer just referred to does not stop here, but goes on to deny that "belief in the revelation necessarily brings with it a belief in miracle," and maintains that to suppose that the supremacy of Christianity can be dangerously affected by the denial of miracle "is to misapprehend its power and essence." *

It is the object of this article to deal with the phase of belief just described, and to show, in opposition thereto, that belief in the Incarnation necessarily involves belief in miracle.

I. If we examine the question from the historical point of view, we are at once arrested by the highly significant fact that from the earliest period of the History of Christianity, belief in the Incarnation (*ἐνσάρκωσις*) was indissolubly connected with belief in the miraculous conception. The records of the first ages of the Church contain no trace of any doubt upon this subject among those who "worshipped Christ as God." If it was denied, it was by those who, like the Ebionites and other kindred sects, denied as well the Divinity of Christ, and indeed could scarcely, by any stretch of charity, be considered Christians. The early creeds, without any known exception, enshrined the same faith; for though there was a variation of phraseology—some having only "born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary" (*qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine*), or, "born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary" (*de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine*), instead of the fuller phrase, "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary"—yet no one will pretend that these verbal differences represented divergent views on the subject of the conception of Christ. Neither will it be alleged that the words of the creed imply no more than the energizing of the Holy Ghost in the natural processes of human reproduction, in which sense it would be true of every child that it is "conceived by the Holy Ghost"; for however great a relief such forced interpretations may afford to some consciences, it must be clear, even to them, that such was not the sense in which the creeds were understood by those who framed them. They did not use words in their symbols of faith without any specific meaning, nor in any sense which would have turned the recital of their belief into solemn trifling.

* Scotch Sermons, 1880, p. 81. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

How far, however, was this faith of the Early Church in the miraculous conception justified by the New Testament Scriptures?

It goes without saying that the opening chapters of S. Matthew's and S. Luke's gospels distinctly relate the conception of Jesus as a miraculous event. But we would invite the reader to observe that it is there taught not only directly and in terms, but indirectly, incidentally, and by implication, a circumstance which the destructive criticism finds very awkward to deal with. Thus in S. Matthew we have not only the statement that the Virgin was "found with child of the Holy Ghost," but also Joseph's surprise at her condition, his intention to put her away, the angel's explanation, and Joseph's subsequent conduct. Even the genealogy, which has been much alleged as a difficulty, affords strong evidence against the spuriousness of the first chapter of Matthew's gospel. For, on the supposition that the belief in the miraculous conception was a later growth incorporated into the Gospel, it is certain that a genealogy which traces the lineage of Christ from the side of Joseph and not of Mary, would have been felt to be so great a difficulty that it would have been omitted, or at least would not have been placed in immediate juxtaposition with the narrative of the conception by the Holy Ghost. At the same time we must not omit to notice that this genealogy does not assert that Joseph was the father of Jesus, but only that he was "the husband of Mary, of whom (*ἐξ ἧς*, *i.e.*, of Mary) was born Jesus who is called Christ" (chap. i : 16).

Strauss and his followers, with some who use his arguments, although they do not adopt all his conclusions, have made much of the alleged discrepancy between Matthew and Luke in the narrative of the infancy ; but the point which is of material importance in this discussion is the representation they give of the conception, and here they are in perfect harmony. They mutually explain each other. If, for example, S. Matthew gives the genealogy of Christ on the side of Joseph, S. Luke explains the reason by the incidental statement that Jesus was *supposed* to be the son of Joseph. The same statement of the third Evangelist explains why in the first we read that in His own city of Nazareth He was believed to be "the carpenter's son," and in the fourth Gospel, that Philip, when he first made the ac-

quaintance of Jesus, spoke of Him as "Jesus of Nazareth the son of Joseph." And these instances of the popular belief respecting His parentage are so far from being inconsistent with the narratives in the earlier chapters of Matthew and Luke, that the latter evangelist has incorporated into his account, in the very part supposed to be spurious, the beautiful incident in the Temple when Mary said to her son, "Thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing," which is immediately supplemented, however, by the boy's answer, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" Moreover, all the gospels alike show that there were the gravest reasons why the true history of His birth should not at first be made public.

The silence of S. Mark and S. John on the subject is not strange, if we consider that they pass over the entire history of the infancy and childhood of Jesus, and if we disabuse our minds of the notion, which has been the parent of so many mistakes, that the gospels are histories or biographies of Christ. But, as Van Oosterzee has pointed out, S. John's description of the children of God, in his first chapter, contains "a choice and accumulation of expressions, which may well call forth surprise, if we are not to suppose that the miraculous beginning of our Lord's life, undoubtedly made known to Him by Mary, was more or less directly before His mind." And we may add that the connection of verses 13 and 14 (chap. 1) confirms this view. The sons of God "were born not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man; *and the Word was made flesh*"—how he does not say, but the connection suggests "not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man but of God." Indeed, as Westcott remarks here, "the fact of the miraculous conception, though not stated, is necessarily implied by the Evangelist. The coming of the Word into flesh is presented as a creative act in the same way as the coming of all things into being was." These considerations place S. John side by side with S. Matthew and S. Luke, as a witness for the miraculous conception.

If now we pass to the Epistles, we do not find explicit statement of this doctrine: but we do find it everywhere implied; everywhere consistent with the teaching of the Apostles; while the contrary opinion, of natural generation, is clearly in conflict therewith. When S. Paul

says that "in the fulness of time God sent forth His Son made (or born) of a woman," it is natural to ask why he should prefer this form of expression to one which should declare Him begotten by a human father, if such were indeed the case. It was not the manner of the Jews to bring the mother into prominence. There would seem therefore good reason for Calvin's comment: "Discernere Christum a reliquis volunt hominibus: quia ex semine matris creatus sit, non viri et mulieris coitu." Certainly, the humanity of Christ and His obligation as a man to keep the Law, could have been as easily expressed by describing Him as "the Son of man"; and hence it seems natural to see here a parallel to the first great prophecy that "the seed of the *woman*," not of the man, "should bruise the serpent's head" (the reason in both passages being the peculiar relation of woman to the Redeemer).

But waiving this passage, we adduce as a conclusive proof that Paul could not have believed that Jesus was the son of Joseph, his well-known doctrine of the first and second Adam. In his Epistle to the Romans (chap. 5) he insists with emphasis on the necessary inheritance of sin and death by all who are the natural descendants of Adam; and again, to the Corinthians he writes: "The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven." "He who is to be the head of a new race which is to be at once divine and human—the realization, that is to say, of its primitive type—cannot be simply one of the links of the long chain of natural generations, all tainted with the evil which has, as it were, become incorporated in a fallen race. It is impossible that He should save humanity if He has to say with David, 'I was conceived in sin.' We must make, as it were, a new beginning, and the second Adam cannot destroy the work of the first, except on condition that He be not of his descent. He must be born of a woman, and assume a truly human nature; but it is equally essential that the active cause of His earthly being be not a corrupt humanity, but the divine and creative principle." * As the first Adam came not by natural generation but by creation, so was it to be expected the second Adam should come in a sense direct from the hand of God. "The Word *was made* flesh" (*ἐγένετο*.)

* E. de Pressensé: *Jesus Christ, etc.*, p. 191.

To these considerations we should add that there are strong internal reasons, in the matter and spirit of S. Luke's gospel, for believing the testimony of Irenæus that "Luke, the companion of Paul, put into writing the gospel preached by the latter." This argument has been exhibited with great force by a recent writer ; who shows solid grounds for believing that the third gospel is in truth the gospel of Paul.* It yet further strengthens our position to recall the fact that the Ebionitish sects, who rejected the miraculous conception, were the vehement opponents of the Pauline gospel.

Here, then, is the state of the case. The miraculous conception is asserted by the early creeds with one voice. It is clearly and unequivocally taught by two of the four Gospels, one of which bears the strong impress of the mind of S. Paul ; it is taught by necessary implication in the fourth Gospel ; it underlies the theology of the Apostles, especially that of Paul ; and, finally, it is entirely consistent with the New Testament teaching as a whole ; while the contrary view of ordinary generation renders the harmony of the early creeds on this doctrine inexplicable, makes the Evangelists contradict each other and contradict themselves, and is out of harmony with the statements of the rest of the New Testament.

Such is the historical argument, briefly stated. We are not sanguine enough to suppose that it will carry conviction to the minds of our opponents ; because in truth it is not with them an affair of history or of exegesis, or even of criticism, but of philosophy. Men will be found on opposite sides of this question according as they have or have not accepted what the unbelievers call "the modern idea of the world." In the case of those who have accepted it unreservedly, the fixed, the certain, the known is to be found in the domain of science, not in the domain of religion. Their religion is a function of their philosophy. Their religious convictions and beliefs wait upon their scientific conceptions. Science—the science of matter—is in truth enthroned in sovereign state. Religion is discrowned and dethroned. It exists only by sufferance.

Now it is no doubt true that there is more than one sacred scripture and more than one divine revelation. God has written His name and revealed His nature in the constitution of the material universe and in the intel-

* Godet, *Studies on the New Testament*.

lectual and moral nature of man, no less truly than in the pages of the Old and New Testaments—no less *truly*, but *far less clearly*. The revelation of the Bible (on all moral and spiritual questions, and on physical questions too, at their point of contact with the moral and spiritual) at once supplements and interprets the other two. It is so far their key. It answers to the Greek inscription on the Rosetta stone. By its aid we shall make out the two forms of hieroglyphics on the physical and moral faces of the great column of the cosmos.

We may go with one of the writers of the Scotch Sermons of 1880, when he says that "the progress of history is a revelation of God"; but we part company with him when he claims for history the right "*to modify the New Testament revelation*" (p. 71).

The real point of divergence, therefore, let us again insist, is not found in the interpretation of the New Testament, but in the adoption or rejection of the philosophy which makes nature the supreme court of appeal. This is substantially admitted by the same Scotch sermonizer, when he says of those who deny miracle and yet would fain retain Christianity, that "they are so strongly impressed by the revelation of nature that any teaching which is at variance with her already known truths is, unless it comes with irresistible authority, at once decisively rejected" (p. 82).

Now the evidence of the Christian revelation, and hence of the Christian miracles, or of the one great miracle of Christianity, Jesus Christ, is not "irresistible." No moral evidence ever is, or can be, irresistible. It would lose its character as such if it were. Christianity cannot be demonstrated. If it could, it would cease to serve the ends of probation. That the "known truths" of nature cannot conflict with the real truths of religion will not be denied by any who believe in one God, the Maker of heaven and earth. But, unfortunately, the adherents of the system in question have shown a fatal tendency to confound scientific theories with "known truths"—as, for instance, the extreme theory of evolution, now pronounced by Virchow and Tyndall "utterly discredited." To such the interpretation of Scripture must needs be a secondary matter, and for them the conclusion is easy that "*miracles belong to the poetry of religion,*" or, as others would say, "*to the childhood of religion.*"

So far as the last statement is concerned, we who hold to the supernatural are not careful to dispute it, while we remember the words of our Master, "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Nor does the charge of a lack of culture—which is the *bête noir* of the naturalistic school—frighten us. We are more concerned to be found with the "babes and sucklings" to whom the Father has revealed Himself, than with the "wise and learned" from whom He is "hid." But even otherwise, we should not be abashed when we observe that on the side of the supernatural stands the great body of the aristocracy of the human intellect in the past, and no inconsiderable part of it, to say the least, even in our own day.

II. Turn we then to the examination of the question, not now from the historical, but from the philosophical, point of view.

Waiving all consideration of the miraculous conception, let us ask what does the belief in the Incarnation, aside from the mode of its realization, carry with it? If we accept the fact that Jesus Christ was the eternal Son of God, so that in Him dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily—must we also believe in miracle? We answer, Yes, the Incarnation involves of necessity belief in miracle. For the coming down from heaven of the divine Logos, and His union with humanity in the person of Jesus, His being "made flesh," or "made man," is surely an event which transcends the natural order, in whatever way we conceive this union to have been effected. It is not the *mode* of the phenomenon only which establishes its miraculous character, but the phenomenon itself.

To be united with the man Jesus in a way generically the same as God is, or may be, united with other men, does not realize the idea of the Incarnation. For that requires, as its first and supreme condition, the union of the two natures. To quote the language of the Articles of the Church of England: "The Son of God was made very man;" and "took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man."

Now such a union as is here described is entirely outside of the sphere of natural phenomena. Natural causation cannot account for it. If it ever occurred, it is an event not only unique and unparalleled, but entirely beyond the possibilities of those forces which energize in nature and man. By its very statement it postulates the interposition of the divine upon the plane of the human, in a manner fundamentally miraculous. Unless we are prepared to assert that the infinite God can be held in solution, so to speak, in the forces of nature, so that those forces and potences shall, in the process of evolution, at length evolve the Maker of the universe, then we must confess the Incarnation a supernatural event.

We have said that the Incarnation transcends the natural order. Let us not be understood to mean that it has no place in the order of the universe. The Pauline conception, the Petrine conception, nay, the New Testament conception, justifies no such position. On the contrary, it is there represented as an integral part of the divine order from the beginning. It was not an *afterthought*. It was not a "*scheme*" devised to meet an unanticipated emergency. It was in no proper sense an interruption of the order of the cosmos, if we include in the cosmos, as unquestionably we should, the moral and the spiritual order. No; it was "foreordained before the foundation of the world," an essential part of the order of the universe; no more an interruption to the divine plan than the ripening of the grape is an interruption of the order of *its* being. In truth, it was the crown of the divine plan of the cosmos. Nor is this all. We can see its harmony with the scientific order. If science reveals, in astronomy, in geology, in natural history, in sociology, the same great law of progress on an ascending scale; from inorganic to organic matter; from dead to living matter; from the lower forms of life to the higher; from the simple to the complex; from the imperfect to the more perfect—does the Incarnation contradict that law in asserting that there was at last a progress from the more or less perfect to the absolutely perfect? If nature, through all geologic time, struggled slowly upward till she reached her final term in man, does the Incarnation stand in conflict with the principle involved in that progress, in asserting that at last, in the fulness of the time, there appeared on earth *the divine*

Man. There is indeed a wide hiatus between the first man, who is of the earth earthy, and the second man, who is the Lord from heaven ; but this very hiatus finds its analogy in that between inorganic and organic matter—between dead and living matter—between the mere animal and man, “the paragon of animals.”

The Incarnation in truth completes the pyramid of which inorganic dead matter is the base and the human nature of Christ the apex. We might trace this harmony on other lines, and exhibit the Incarnation as the last term of a series of revelations, of which the Creation is the first—claiming that as man is the highest of God’s self-revelations among created beings, so it is most reasonable that the highest and most glorious of all self-revelations of the Deity should be in the perfect Man, the God-Man, Christ Jesus.

Such a statement of the Incarnation will be challenged from two quarters.

One class of objectors will attack the analogy, and insist that it breaks down, because on the supposition it involves a miraculous intervention, which is contrary to the order of the universe. We answer that the present state of science does not justify the assertion that no principle of causation has been introduced into the universe from without, or that the chain of sequences has never been touched by the hand of God. Mr. Tyndall admits a mighty mystery which looms up beyond the utmost confines of science, and affirms that no step has been made toward its solution : “Behind and above and around us the real mystery lies unsolved.” “There is,” he says, “no proof that life can be developed, save from demonstrable antecedent life.” With Virchow he holds that the theory of evolution in its complete form involves the assumption that, at some period or other of the earth’s history there occurred what would now be called spontaneous generation. “I agree with him that the proofs of it are still wanting, that the failures have been lamentable, and that the doctrine is utterly discredited.”

But the introduction of life into this planet, which is affirmed by some scientists, and cannot be denied by any in the present state of science, was truly a miracle. Moreover, a large and influential school of scientific men, who accept the principle of evolution in a modified form, hold that the entrance of man upon the stage of

nature must be considered an intervention of direct creative power. But every creation is by the definition a miracle.

Another class of objectors will attack our presentation of the Incarnation on the ground that by giving it a place in the order of the cosmos, and asserting its harmony with the law of progress, or of evolution, which pervades nature, we are cutting the ground from under our feet and eliminating the miraculous from that doctrine. By no means. For we distinguish the order of nature from the order of the universe, as the part from the whole; and in tracing the analogies in nature to the principle of the Incarnation, we recognize the direct intervention of the divine upon the sphere of the natural and the human.

We may smile at Mr. Mill's conceit of a possible world in which two and two do not make four, because we can sound that numerical relation to the bottom. But to say that there may not be a higher order than we have ever compassed by our science, and a deeper philosophy than we have ever fathomed with the plummet of our reason, is an assertion which science and reason both forbid us to make. Are we then in a position to affirm that into that grander order miracles may not fit as harmoniously as the once-supposed erratic and eccentric movements of the comets fit into the framework and mechanism of the heavens? In our present imperfect knowledge, and with our finite and fallible faculties, it is really as unreasonable to deny the possibility of miracles as it was for that eastern monarch whose experience lay only in the tropical zone to deny the possibility of the phenomenon of ice. And yet Hume's argument, which is the stock in trade of the naturalistic school, would have perfectly justified him.

It is in vain, therefore, for Strauss and his motley following to assert complacently "that the totality of things forms a vast circle which suffers no intrusion from without." For, as Bushnell says, "what if it should happen that above this totality of *things* there is a grand totality superior to things? Wherein is it more incredible that this higher totality should exert a subordinating 'external influence' on the whole of things, than that one kingdom in nature trenches upon another? Why may not men, angels, God, subordinate and act upon the whole of what is properly called nature? And what are

all the organic powers in nature doing but giving us a type of the truth, to make it familiar? And then how little avails the really low appeal from such a testimony to the current unbeliefs and crudities of a superficial, coarse-minded, unthinking world?" It is highly reasonable to believe that "the physical order called nature is perhaps only a single and very subordinate term of that universal divine system, a mere pebble chafing in the ocean-bed of its eternity."

But to return. We have maintained that belief in the Incarnation, with or without the miraculous conception, necessarily involves belief in miracle, because the union of the divine Logos with the man Jesus of Nazareth, if we admit the reality of that union and do not take refuge in the docetic conception, is an event which entirely transcends the natural order, and which cannot conceivably be the result of the ordinary forces which energize in man.

The same conclusion must be reached when we consider the perfection of the character of the incarnate Christ. The sinlessness of Jesus is an essential element in the conception of the Incarnation; and a sinless man is as great a miracle as can be conceived. Such a character cannot be the result of the laws of nature, cannot be produced by the ordinary forces which energize in man; least of all could emerge from such an intellectual and moral environment as that of Judæa or Galilee. For it is as certain that there is a "reign of law" in the intellectual and moral world as in the material: and since it cannot be denied that Jesus Christ is a phenomenon for which the known laws of that world cannot adequately account, it follows that His person and character are as truly miraculous as the raising of Lazarus from the dead.

The disciples of the extreme theory of evolution (and it is only the extreme theory which challenges miracle) should be the first to feel the force of this argument. For the very *alpha* and *omega* of their philosophy is that "evolution is effected by a number of small and inconsiderable variations;" from which it follows by inexorable logic "that a man cannot emerge suddenly as a moral and intellectual giant above those surroundings in the midst of which he has been born and has drawn his entire moral and intellectual nourishment;" and *therefore* the conclusion is inevitable—the perfect Man,

the divine Man, the God-Man, could not have been produced by natural evolution in any age or in any land, much less in that age and in that land in which Jesus of Nazareth appeared.*

Here, then, are the two rocks on which the anti-miraculous conception of the Incarnation must go to pieces—the perfect Deity and the perfect sinlessness of Christ.

Both these are essential elements of the Incarnation, and both *involve*, by necessary consequence, belief in miracle.

Humanitarianism follows in the wake of any conception of the Incarnation which rejects miracle, for we are shut up to one of two alternatives : either the sinlessness of Jesus will shatter the anti-miraculous conception of His person ; or else, as is only too often the case, itself be shattered by it ; and then the glory of His divine person is gone—He is the God incarnate no more.

These consequences are not always foreseen ; nor do they always follow rapidly upon the adoption of the opinions in question ; but they are potentially involved in those opinions from the very first, and they who adopt them have entered upon a slippery path which surely tends to the rejection of the Christian revelation. They have given themselves over to that false and misleading spirit, the *Zeit-geist*, and they must perforce follow where it shall lead. The example of David Frederick Strauss is very instructive. In 1835 he wrote of Jesus Christ in a strain of lofty and enthusiastic admiration : “ Where,” he exclaims, “ shall we find in such beauty as we find it in Jesus that mirroring purity of soul which the fury of the storm may agitate but cannot cloud ? Where has there been so grand an idea, so restless an activity, so exalted a sacrifice for it, as in Jesus ? Who has been the founder of a work which has endowed with as rich treasures, in as high a degree, the masses of men and nations through the long ages, as the work which bears the name of Christ ? . . . As little as mankind can be without religion, so little can they be without Christ.” This is what Strauss thought of Jesus in 1835. But what did he think of Him after a life passed under the influence of his anti-miraculous philosophy ? Ah ! there is no longer any glory on the brow of Jesus now. The pages of Lessing and Goethe are as

* See Row's Bampton Lectures, p. 135.

replete with "truths of salvation" as the discourses of Christ. He writes of Jesus rudely, even coarsely. He scruples not to stigmatize Him as "a visionary, a lag-gard in the development of mind," "a fantastic fanatic." * In short, the old man has reversed his saying just quoted, and says in effect now, "*Mankind has as little need of Christ as it has of Religion.*" Yes, he has reached the abyss to which for forty years he has been surely drifting—materialistic atheism.

In vain then will the disciples of naturalism asseverate (however sincerely) that in rejecting miracle they are only separating the false from the true, and that they still hold fast the essential fibre of Christianity. We tell them they are the victims of a fatal delusion : the miraculous is inextricably bound up with New Testament Christianity ; and easier is it for Shylock to take his pound of flesh without blood than to separate the miraculous from Christianity without letting out *its* life-blood. "If Christ be not raised," said the great apostle to the Gentiles, "then is your faith vain. Ye are yet in your sins." "Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God." Equally true is it that if God did not directly interpose upon the sphere of the human in the Incarnation, then is our faith vain, and the apostles are found false witnesses of God, because they have testified that God was manifest in the flesh, which is false, if indeed Jesus Christ was the product of the natural laws of the material and moral world. The fibres of miracle interpenetrate the discourses, the life, the person of Christ : root them up and you root up the superhuman character of Jesus with them.

The old rationalism tried it, and we know how fantastic and grotesque were the results in Eck and Bahrdt and Paulus. Schenckel, and Baur, and Renan, and Strauss, all from different points of view, made the same attempt. We need not remind the reader of the result. We may, however, adduce here the language which Strauss employed in his preface to the first edition of the Life of Jesus : "The essence of the Christian religion is perfectly independent of my criticism. The supernatural birth of Christ, His miracles, His resurrection and ascension, remain eternal truths, *whatever doubts may be cast on their reality as historical facts.* . . . The dogmatic significance of the life of Jesus remains

* The Old Faith and the New.

inviolable. . . . No injury is threatened to the Christian faith." (P. xi.) And he concludes his third volume thus: "The critic is intrinsically a believer. In proportion as he is distinguished from the naturalistic theologian and the free-thinker—in proportion as his criticism is conducted in the spirit of the nineteenth century—he is filled with veneration for every religion, and especially for the sublimest of all religions—the Christian—which he perceives to be identical with the deepest philosophical truth." (Vol. iii., p. 397.)

With such examples before our eyes we must be excused for declining to accept the assurances of the disciples of naturalism that, in eliminating the miraculous from the conception of the Incarnation, they "preserve inviolate the dogmatic significance of the life of Jesus," and "threaten no injury" to the Christian faith, but are only vindicating for it a firm place in the order of the cosmos by demonstrating its identity "with the deepest philosophical truth."

It is philosophy itself which teaches us that when we reject miracle, we should also, to be consistent, reject not only the entire Christian revelation, but theism as well. For the same line of reasoning which banishes miracle from the cosmos, must also drive out that primeval miracle—the Creation; and with it human freedom. Then the notion of sin is relegated to the category of effete superstitions; all occasion for a revelation and an Incarnation is gone; the great truth which supports the entire structure of Theism—a personal God—vanishes like a dream; and above the gulf of Pantheism we hear the shriek of a fatherless world.

RANDOLPH H. MCKIM.

CHRISTUS IST ERSTANDEN.

An Easter hymn by *Michael Weisse* (A. D. 1531) from the first hymn-book of the *Unitas Fratrum*.

Christ is arisen
From Death's dark prison !
The angel choirs in songs rejoice,
And sing in Heaven with ceaseless voice,
Hallelujah !

He, Who by dying
Life was supplying,
Is now our Paschal Lamb indeed,
And doth His faithful people feed.
Hallelujah !

Once was He bleeding,
Help from man needing,
But now He reigns in glorious power,
And intercedes for us each hour.
Hallelujah !

He Who, descending,
Sin's curse was ending,
Hath burst the bonds of Death and Hell,
And evermore in Heav'n shall dwell.
Hallelujah !

Once to Death given,
Now throned in Heaven,
He sheds on each His beams of light,
And Gentiles worship at the sight,
Hallelujah !

Gaze on Him living,
Our sins forgiving !
Then shall we know and feel our guilt,
And seek His Blood for sinners spilt,
Hallelujah !

Christ, Lamb atoning !
Thy grace still owning,
We pray Thee all our sin remove,
That we may ever sing Thy Love !
Hallelujah !

J. ANKETELL.

INDIVIDUALISM.*

It is very seldom worth while to review sermons. They are intended primarily to be heard and to be heard once only. Hence, in their rhetorical structure they differ widely from essays, and in proportion as they are good sermons are for the most part bad treatises. But sermons before the University of Cambridge are meant also to be read. They may be expected to deal with subjects of deep and permanent importance. They are really, in spite of their form, essays or short treatises; and almost always the production of learned and able men.

The sermons of Bishop Littlejohn are, as would be expected, marked by much thought and learning; though somewhat diffuse and inexact in style. The subject chosen by the bishop is of great importance and perhaps too large for three sermons, even if they had been very closely compressed. It is a subject of superlative difficulty; and must have taxed to the utmost even the

* *Individualism: Its Growth and Tendencies. With some Suggestions as to the Remedy for its Evils.* Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in November, 1880. By the Right Rev. A. R. Littlejohn, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Long Island. Cambridge, London, and New York, 1881. Pp. 206. Price \$1.

great powers of the distinguished preacher. That the sermons should satisfy everybody is, of course, out of the question. But it goes without saying that they are exceedingly clever, and full of matter; and that their object is to defend Catholic truth and the Catholic Church against the very potent enemies which now so ruthlessly beset them. They assume that there is a growing revolt against *mere* authority—that is to say an authority which does not *prove* either its divine origin or its practical utility. Moreover they assume a general and deepening conviction that all authority ordained of God will be practically useful; and that—because its utility is a much easier subject for investigation than its divine origin—to this utility attention is now almost exclusively directed. On the other hand Bishop Littlejohn claims that revelation and the Church are true and authoritative; and that any “re-adjustment” that denies or conceals this fact is a betrayal of Christianity. He has expressed all this with much copiousness and force; and herein we entirely agree with him. He calls the modern revolt against uncertified authority “individualism.” Of this he sketches the growth and the speculative and practical results. He seems to use this word as a name for the root-principle of all modern scepticism, insubordination, social disturbance, political revolution. It includes materialism, agnosticism, sectarianism, facile divorce, debased art, and the like. It is “the root of all evil.” No doubt he admits that there is a legitimate, beneficial, and even inevitable individualism. But this admission is reluctant, and soon forgotten. The sermons are directed against individualism as *an evil* to be *remedied*, and this almost exclusively.

It can scarcely be doubted that this mode of treatment will be considered by many indiscriminate and unfair. It is clear that individualism may be claimed as a force on both sides; doing at least as much good as harm; producing as many defences as attacks; originating as many reforms as revolutions; lying at the foundation, as Bishop Littlejohn of course admits, of all moral responsibility and religious life. It is like life itself—capable of endless manifestations, but itself needing chiefly to be strengthened and guided. Indeed it is much to be desired that the preacher had defined the term, instead of leaving his hearers and readers to construct a

definition for themselves out of rhetorical descriptions and severe censures. The word individualism clearly differs from individuality. It implies some such word as individualize—if these misbegotten hybrids are to be tolerated at all. A man's individuality is that which distinguishes him from every other human being—his *self*—including all bodily peculiarities, mental temperament, all the results of his training and his surroundings. It is a mere fact, like the stripes of a tiger, the wings of a bird. To individualize, then, might mean to estimate accurately individual peculiarities; to distinguish clearly one person from another, and to predict sagaciously the probable manifestations of the individual character in certain supposed circumstances. Or, subjectively, to individualize might mean vividly to realize all that is included in one's individuality; and "individualism" would then mean the habit of clearly perceiving and practically maintaining all those faculties or acquirements which distinguish an individual from everybody else—his inalienable rights, his indispensable obligations, his powers, his duties, his solemn loneliness, his awful obligation in the last resort to perform acts of choice in which others may indeed greatly aid but can never supersede him. Hence individualism will impel us to seek for genuine knowledge; to demand proof; to distinguish, even though we cannot separate, ourselves from any organization of which we may form a part.

But it is clearly in no such definite sense as this that Bishop Littlejohn uses the term. We must gather his definition from a great multitude of detached descriptions of the acts, the temper, the tendency, the sympathies, etc., of "individualism." The following are a few examples. It underrates the truth and grace of God, the established institutions of society, the State and the Church. It considers that these institutions exist for the individual alone. It attempts to play the sovereign in the world of intellect, and of morals and religion. It chills and impoverishes character; and on the other hand inspires it with the spirit of unrest and belligerency. It unsettles the foundations and mars the symmetry of character. It reverses the aim of Christian discipline. Nothing but loose and disorderly dealing with the type of morality can be looked for from individualism. It denies divine providence and the operations of God in history. It leaves no room or ground

for an objective supernatural revelation. It affirms that what each man's consciousness does not verify is incapable of verification by any other witness. It has a poor opinion of all transmitted, inherited wisdom. It has an affinity neither weak nor obscure with agnosticism. It unduly exalts public opinion. It debases art. It is proud and self-sufficient. It pretends to furnish the materials out of which God can be rationally or metaphysically constructed.

Now this personification of individualism loses in logic at least as much as it gains in rhetoric. No doubt every author is at liberty to define the mode in which he will use the terms he employs. But it is a well known principle in logic that the *con*-notation of a term is in inverse proportion to its *de*-notation; that is to say, the more it means the fewer are the real things to which it can be applied. Thus if you define man as a rational animal the name will suit every member of the human race. But if you define man as a rational animal, six feet high, with blue eyes, a generous temper, military skill, and poetic genius, there will be very few human beings who will deserve the name. And again if you define man as a rational animal, generous, honest, crafty, murderous, pious, atheistic, conceited, humble, strong and imbecile—the word may retain its place in a dictionary but it will denote no existing thing whatever.

Now how can the very various tendencies or evils which Bishop Littlejohn has enumerated—which are indeed both real and very serious—be referred to "individualism," unless we totally alter every recognized meaning of the word? Is Nihilism a form of individualism? So, then, is assassination, or common murder. But so also is a conservative club, or a detective police, or a missionary society, or the genius of Shakespeare, or the self-devotion of an apostle. If, as Bishop Littlejohn admits, "it is the right of the individual to decide in the last resort in all matters of personal obligation;" if "to the full extent that he is responsible for his conduct must be his freedom and authority is determining for himself the conflicting moral interests which environ him" (pp. 21-22)—if this be so, and nobody denies it, then it is not "individualism" that makes a man decide wrongly, but ignorance, or indifference, or perversity. Or if "individualism" is to be credited with all the follies and vices of the age, it must be also credited with

all its virtues and intellectual achievements. In other words the *con*-notation of the word has been so enlarged that it means *everything* belonging to an individual, and therefore *de*-notes no one thing in particular.

But not only do we venture to think the use of the word "individualism" in these sermons altogether illogical and vague and shifting, but, what is far more serious, the attention is diverted by the misuse of terms from the real nature and source of evils which are not only very abundant but in the highest degree serious—and the remedy against them is greatly obscured. We venture to claim, in view of existing facts and tendencies, that what we need is not less individualism but greatly more. The age of bare authority—authority unproved and unverified, which cannot justify itself either to the conscience or the intellect—the authority whose best exponents are the index and the inquisition—is gone, thank God, for ever. Men *will* think for themselves, and *ought* to do so. Moreover genuine authority is as real as ever and perfectly able to justify itself. But in order that men may see this they must think more not less—they must ask more questions—they must be more on their guard than ever against "false prophets," and men "that say they are apostles but are not." We believe that individualism, as we have ourselves defined it above, is not only an essential condition of all religion and morality, but in any degree at all approaching to perfection is excessively rare.

This will appear from reflection upon the state of society in nearly every department of thought and life. The multiplication of sects is one example. The sect-leader may be ignorant, ambitious, self-confident—*his* individualism may be morbid. But what of the crowds who follow him? They are like silly sheep, following *any* leader through any gap in any fence. But there are two proofs of the defect of individualism in our age, absolutely conclusive. The first is the absolute monarchy of majorities, the other is the materialist philosophy. What chance has a great statesman even on the floor of Congress? What chance has the noblest citizen to be elected President? Where are the original functions of the Electoral College? The same phenomenon reappears in ecclesiastical conventions and convocations. It is not the absolutely best man who can be chosen bishop, but the best moderate man. It is not

the best measure that can pass, but the best compromise measure. Bishop Littlejohn says that individualism cannot be trusted with morality and the Christian type of life—this must be intrusted to authorized guides and great organizations, divine or otherwise. There are many individuals, no doubt, below the average—but, on the contrary, the average, *ex vi termini*, is always below the highest. The true leaders of men are the minority ; that is, individuals. The fathers of Nicæa were good men and true, and did a noble and enduring work. But who remembers them ? It is " Athanasius against the world " who lives for ever in the calendar and the heart of the Catholic Church. The *discipline* of the Church represents its organized morality—does it represent Christian heroism, or reproduce the genuine type of Christian character ?

But on the side of speculation nobody knows better than Bishop Littlejohn the rapid spread of materialism. These very sermons are intended, in a measure, to deal with that most subtle danger. But materialism, in any form, even the most refined, is the annihilation of individualism.

But we have no space to discuss the subject itself of these sermons ; and we must not close without saying that they are full of honest protests against follies and vices which abound on every side. They bring home to us anew the absolute necessity for vigorous effort on the part especially of the clergy and those who are responsible for the conduct of affairs in the great seats of learning. For our own Church what we need most to fear is, just at present, stagnation. For, surrounded as we are by mighty forces in violent motion, the danger is that we shall be swept away, in one unresisting mass, down some " stream of tendency." Most of us never dream of denying authority or revelation. What we really need is a keen individualism—patient, humble, but also alert and receptive and determined.

WILLIAM KIRKUS.

BISHOP WHITE'S MEMOIRS.*

That the history of our Church is not more widely known and more generally accessible is not for want of earnest and painstaking investigators. Nor is there any lack of abundant material for our annals. Pamphlets of every kind, volumes of parochial or diocesan chronicles, biographies of bishops and other leaders of progress, thought, or fashion in the Church; tractates dating back to the days of discovery and settlement, or giving the polemics of a forgotten age and generation; records and manuscripts illustrative of the various periods of our earlier days, are to be had in almost embarrassing profusion. Even the statutes-at-large of our lawyers, and the secular histories of our States or the nation, cannot be studied or known at all without the knowledge of the connection of our Mother Church of England with early maritime discovery and colonization; or without the recognition of the fact that Church and State grew

* *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, containing—I. A Narrative of the Organization and of the Early Measures of the Church; II. Additional Statements and Remarks; III. An Appendix of Original Papers. By the Right Rev. William White, D.D. Edited, with Notes and a Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Colonial Church. By the Rev. B. F. De Costa. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1880. 8vo. Pp. lvi. (2) 474. Price \$4.

up together among us from the very first, and that our ecclesiastical history is coeval with that of the civilization of the continent. Still, with a rich and exhaustless store of material to draw from, the story of our annals has been but partially and imperfectly told. One cannot, indeed, turn over the dingy pages of the

“Small rare volumes, black with tarnished gold,”

the coveted treasures of the bibliomaniac, and the “nuggets” of collectors of “Americana,” — without finding in “black letter” or in plain Roman the story of the Church’s progress through trials and difficulties. Were there only shown by the members of our communion the same or a similar zeal for the encouragement of delvers in our historic mine that has supported and encouraged the compilers and reproducers of the annals of the Puritan band at Plymouth, and the Separatists of Massachusetts Bay, we should have already found that ours was a history of which we had no reason to be ashamed. And had such a zeal “for the glory of God and the memory of the fathers,” been earlier manifested, the honored names of our pioneer laborers for Christ and His Church would have gone forth into all the world, as well as those of other names and other faiths whose boastful followers have claimed for them niches in the gallery of the historic past that of right belonged to the mission priests and laymen of our own communion. The past has a rich legacy for us, and we should claim it while we may. The present, with all its activities and absorbing interests, can surely spare a little time for the study of those days of old, when through toil and trials of which we little dream our fathers lived and labored for the church of God.

Our popular text-books of civil or ecclesiastical history have rarely been written by churchmen. And these works following each other’s garbled citations and often malicious misrepresentations, repeating borrowed authorities in foot-notes and jaundiced statements in the text itself, have seldom recognized the Church’s position or alluded to the work and worth of her devoted sons. It is but lately that a more critical method of historical writing has been attempted and its result and reward is the proof, ready at hand, of the inaccuracies and prejudices of the earlier efforts which have been made. Nowadays there is searching for documents, and

the archives of the family, the State or the Nation are laid under contribution for the assurance of exactness or for the mere love of research itself. Nowadays, the documentary evidence of historic facts and inferences is weighed and sifted; and garbling and misrepresentations are being done away with, we trust, forever. As a result the Church's story is found to be full of interest and value, and the world is told that there were converts to Christ from among the wild men of our forests long before Eliot taught the Indians at Natick, in Massachusetts, and that there were colonies of churchmen with the services and sacraments of the Church, not only at the southward but even in New England, ere the Mayflower cast anchor inside of Cape Cod, and the Puritans found refuge on our inhospitable shores.

The volume whose title we have placed at the head of this article lays no claim to be regarded as a history of what Bishop White himself styles "the American Church." Invaluable as it is, from the fact that it is the record of the period of our organization, by the pen of him who, more than any one else, moulded and directed the development of our ecclesiastical system, it extends over only the half century of our formative period. The history of the American Church is yet to be written, and the time, it is to be hoped, is at hand. With the completion of our first century of independent existence we may well look back and weave together the various materials which will make up the story of our past.

Meantime an important end is subserved in the reissue of the second edition (that of 1836), of Bishop White's valuable and authoritative book. It is true that there is an utter lack of arrangement in the original work, and that this imperfection has been scrupulously reproduced. It was the purpose of the late historiographer of the American Church, the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, D.D., LL.D., who had, under the superintendency of the author, edited the edition of 1836, with the disadvantage of being abroad when the volume was finally passing through the press, to arrange and group the text of the bishop's several sketches written at different times into a consecutive and homogeneous narrative, without changing a letter of the original. The present arrangement, if such it can be called, is con-

fessedly awkward and repelling to students, and it is to be regretted that the plan of Dr. Hawks, which he had elaborated with no little pains and success, had not suggested itself to the present editor. As it is, however, we regret to say that the volume is only a reprint of the edition of 1836 with all its verbal and typographical inaccuracies, and we must further add, without other corrections or annotations than those of the briefest and most unsatisfactory nature. Even where the **material** existed in abundance for the correction of manifest errors in the text by a comparison of the printed page with, for instance, the ~~fac-similes~~ of the original documents lately brought out by the "Historical Club," this important duty has been neglected and old errors and misstatements perpetuated. For example, the briefest examination of so common a work as "Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," or a glance at the photo-lithograph of the original MS., issued by the Historical Club, would have enabled the editor to correct the *five mistakes* in the initials of the signers of no less important a document than the letter of the English archbishops and bishops found on pp. 353, 354. So in the alterations in the Liturgy given in the Appendix, we have "confusion worse confounded" arising from the fact that the good bishop's copyist followed neither the original MSS. still in existence, nor the "Proposed Book" itself, one of which should have been made the standard of correctness if this portion of the work was to be reprinted at all. Certainly the error in the text found on p. 30, ascribing the adoption of the "Form of Consecration of a Church or Chapel" to the action of the Convention of 1795, when every prayer book bears witness to the contrary, and that it was adopted three years later, might have been at least noticed. The carelessness shown in the proof-reading is inexcusable. It often affects the accuracy of the historical statements themselves. The initial "C" is substituted for "A" in the foot-note on p. 203, and the same letter is interpolated at the foot of p. 206, where it does not at all belong; while the "lower case" letter "c" is made to do duty again and again for "o" in other notes. A reference to "*ante*, p. 000" at the foot of p. 449 is hardly definite enough in its information. This slipshod lack of attention is carried throughout the few editorial notes, *e.g.* :

"Hawkes" is substituted for "Hawks" on p. 131, and "Cummings" for "Cummins" on p. 163. A quotation in the foot-note on p. 272 contains several errors of transcription, while the statement on the next page with reference to the action of the Convention is inaccurate. The references are given with equal carelessness. It is of ~~little~~ use to direct a student who wishes to verify a statement to the third volume of a work when the first is meant, as on p. 272 (foot-note), and it is equally absurd to cite "The Handbook" (p. 447), as indicating any particular one of the scores and ~~hundreds~~ of volumes bearing these words as part of their title.

The Introduction by Mr. De Costa, who is one of the most accurate and well-informed of our students of early American annals, and whose numerous publications of an antiquarian or literary character have been uniformly able and interesting, is unfortunately disfigured by this strange inattention to typographical exactness. When we read "Bargran" for "Bargrave" (p. xxvii.), "Wilkins," for "Wilkinson" (p. xxxiii.), "Morgan" for "Magan" (p. xxxv.), "Perthuck," for "Portlock," (p. xxxvi.), "Channey" for "Quincy" (p. xxxviii.), "Grey" for "Guy" (p. xxxix.), "Banker" for "Bankes" (p. xlv.), and these are not all, the question naturally arises what object is there in giving names at all, if they are thus to be hopelessly travestied. We might except to some of the historical statements of this portion of the work, as for instance the statement on p. xxviii. with reference to the attitude of the House of Burgesses respecting an American Episcopate, which is at variance not only with the facts of the case, but with the assertions of Bishop White himself on p. 76; but on the whole the sketch is eminently readable and in the main accurate. Certainly it is too good a piece of work to have been so carelessly carried through the press.

The Index is neither full nor accurate. It would seem to have been prepared in haste and for some unknown reason to have been circumscribed in its extent. The peculiarly disconnected nature of the work requires full and elaborate references which are lacking, while here, as elsewhere, the proof-reading has been neglected to an extent greatly impairing the little value the index might otherwise have.

We are sorry that if this work were to be reprinted it

was not done by competent hands. As it is, we must wait, and probably wait for a long time, for the appearance of a standard and authoritative edition of a work lying at the very foundation of the material for the Church's history.

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY.

WHAT RESULTS ARE TO BE ANTICIPATED FROM NEGOTIATIONS WITH ROME?

In speaking of negotiations with Rome we do not intend to include those referring to dogmatic differences. Between non-Roman Christians and the Roman Church it is of course impossible that there should be any real negotiating in regard to diverging doctrinal opinions. In the first place, Rome teaches that all Christians belong to the Roman Catholic Church by virtue of their baptism. Non-Romanists may reject the teachings of the Roman Church and disclaim the authority of the Pope ; but though they should do this a thousand times, they would nevertheless remain the Pope's subjects. They are regarded as sheep that have strayed from their owner, as rebels that have revolted against their Lord.* Now, the proper way of dealing with stray sheep is to drive them back to their fold ; and no government treats with rebels as with an independent and equal power, but coerces them, instead, to unconditional submission. Such submission Rome demands from non-Roman Chris-

* Compare what Perrone, S.J., the chief representative among later writers of the official theology of the Roman Church, says in his book "De Matrimonio Christiano," Romæ, 1858 ; tom. iii. p. 199 : *Licet rebelles sint, atque apostata, licet sint extra ecclesiam, ad ecclesiam tamen jure pertinent, prout oves ab ovili profuga ad ovilis herum.*

tians. Between her and them there can be no true negotiation, such as between parties each of whom demands something and yields something. Moreover, such negotiations are impossible, because Rome claims that she possesses the one perfect system of doctrine, and maintains that every one of her doctrines in particular is absolutely true, and to be received without discussion.

Hence it will appear that our inquiries must have reference only to negotiations bearing in their nature on Church policy, such as are usually concluded by a Concordat.

The history of Concordats is highly instructive, and will readily furnish the answer to the question which we have propounded at the head of this article.

The first agreement bearing the name of Concordat, between a State power and a Roman Bishop—viz., the Concordat of Worms, of the year 1122 (between Calixtus II. and Henry V.)—gave rise to a disastrous development, however proper the exclusion of the emperors from the election of bishops obtained by this agreement may have been. The right to elect bishops now devolved on the cathedral chapters, which, designed as they were to be a check upon the power of the bishops, were becoming more and more the organs of papal influence in the dioceses. From this time forth the increasing influence of the Popes secured to the Roman Court not only the right to decide contested episcopal elections, but also that of confirming all bishops elect in their sees. A wound which was never to heal had thus been inflicted on the system of National churches, and also to the interests of the State directly, as will appear from a consideration of the course pursued by the Popes when in conflict with the bishops or civil authorities of a country. One of the Pontiff's most dreaded means of enforcing submission in such a case, and one to which he was sure to have recourse, was the refusal to confirm the election of new bishops, a measure which resulted in the disorganization of the episcopal government in the country concerned. And wherever the Pope used this weapon, the bishops of the land yielded, and the governments accommodated themselves to a hollow peace. Thus it was, to mention but one instance, in the conflict between France and Rome after the Articles of 1682 were drawn up; and Rome will again test the efficacy of this

same means of advancing her own interests, should the French Republic persevere in its present course with regard to measures of Church policy.

The claim which Rome had advanced and enforced since the Concordat of Worms, of the right to confirm bishops, was thereby not yet recognized by the State. Rome, however, secured its recognition as law by means of another Concordat, the German Concordat of 1448. Well would it have been if this Concordat had sanctioned only this one evil. But the policy of the German Concordat did away with almost everything that had been gained by the great Reform Councils of the fifteenth century.

At the Council of Constance the whole of Western Christendom had loudly clamored for ecclesiastical reforms. A strong desire had been expressed for a change for the better in the Pope, the cardinals and the whole Roman Curia. It had been demanded that a stop be put to the systematic plundering of Christendom by Rome ; to simony and all the other abuses attending the filling of spiritual benefices ; to the trade in dispensations and absolutions. It had been urged that the system of Appeals needed revising and simplifying, and that the institution of Indulgences should be reformed.

The German Nation had demanded that the work of Reformation should be carried through by the Council itself, and that only after this was done a new Pope should be elected. They were overruled, however ; a Pope was chosen, and the execution of the proposed reforms was left to him. But the prevalent desires for reform were distasteful to the Pope, and in order to have done with them he concluded Concordats with the different nations. The Germans, in their isolation, he won over first, and buried their former demands in the Concordat of 1418, promising, indeed, to abolish a few abuses, but making all his concessions void by adding that the Pope for weighty reasons might permit what was prohibited. The clause limiting the validity of the Concordat to five years was quite unnecessary, for the Concordat really altered nothing, and served but to seal the defeat of the nation desiring reform. But the Germans, together with the other nations, arose once more from their defeat. A new Council at Basle decreed the reforms which the Council of Constance had but desired, and went even beyond the demands made at Constance. And all

the reformatory decrees issued by the Council of Basle in regard to the constitution of the Church were incorporated in the legislation of the German Empire by the Pragmatic Sanction of the year 1439. But the recent rising was soon followed by another downfall, which, so far as the Germans were concerned, was decided by a fresh Concordat. Rome bought the favor of a worthless emperor by the gift of 170,000 florins and the promise of a double absolution from all his sins, and bribed a number of German princes with money and gracious concessions, thus preparing all Germany to accept the Concordat of Vienna, which the Emperor Frederick III. concluded with the Pope in 1448.

The reformatory decrees of the Council of Basle, the ordinances of the Pragmatic Sanction were for the most part relinquished by the Concordat; and those provisions which it left undisturbed were deprived of efficacy by the practice of the Curia, which followed its own bent in setting aside the Concordat itself. No more than nine years after the conclusion of the Concordat of Vienna the Germans complained that Rome paid no regard to it, but acted contrary to its provisions upon every occasion. From that time this same complaint formed a standing article among the "grievances of the German nation," and was repeated by the Archbishops of Germany in the last days of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German nation."

Thus in the fifteenth century Council decrees and State laws were disintegrated and abolished by Concordat. Every Concordat betokened defeat to the nation that was a party to it. The question, "What is to be anticipated from negotiations with Rome?" has light thrown upon it by a proverb which originated among the German people at that time—viz.: "Concording means losing"—*Concordiren heisst verlieren*.

After the shameful compact which the German Emperor Frederick III. made with Rome, more than a half century elapsed before the Pope succeeded in setting aside the effects of the Reform Councils in relation to the French Church. He finally accomplished this also by a Concordat. In France the reformatory decrees of the Council of Basle had caused the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1437, which formed a bulwark for the liberties of the Gallican Church against the encroachment of Rome. The selfishness of the French king Francis I.

and Rome's craving for usurpation combined for the purpose of demolishing this bulwark. At his Lateran Council Leo X. issued a bull annulling the Pragmatic Sanction, and attaching the severest penalties to any further observance of it. A new arrangement of the ecclesiastical state of France was sanctioned by a Concordat concluded between the Pope and the King on the 16th of August, 1516. Thus the Pope succeeded in arbitrarily rescinding a law of Church and State in France. The principle of the superiority of Councils to the Pope was tacitly relinquished through the Concordat; the duty of giving tribute to Rome was re-enacted in the French Church by the renewed payment of annats; and above all, the Concordat guaranteed that the King and the Pope should share the right of appointing bishops, abbots, and priors, while the Church itself was excluded from all participation in the choice of its pastors. Thus the result of the Concordat policy of Francis I. was that the Church of France was robbed of its independence for the pleasure and profit of a spiritual and a secular monarch.

The enforced execution of this compact did not deprive the French people of their conviction of the lawfulness of the old order in the Church. The old principles were constantly appealed to by single scholars, by assemblies of the clergy, and by the parliaments. Finally, in 1682, a French king, angered by Roman affronts, offered his help toward the establishment and carrying into effect of the famous Four Articles, which, though far from restoring the old law of the Gallican Church, affirmed the superiority of Councils and opposed the interference of the Popes in secular matters. And what was the result? After a little while negotiations with Rome began, in the course of which Louis XIV., in 1693, declared himself ready to dispense with his subjects' obedience to the Four Articles; bishops whom the King had appointed, but who had not been confirmed by the Pope, were persuaded, out of consideration for their sees to present to the Pope a sort of letter of retraction; and by the beginning of the next century the position of the Government was already such that the Keeper of the Great Seal instructed the French Agent of State at Geneva to prevent the printing of Bossuet's "Defence of the Four Articles." The first attempt to liberate the Church of France from the oppressive grasp

of Roman usurpation was thus defeated, and again by means of negotiations with Rome.

The negotiations between Napoleon I. and Pius VII., brought to a conclusion in the Concordat of 1801, had still a more thorough effect in injuring France and benefiting Rome. When their intricate transactions issued in this Concordat, the constitutional bishops assembled in the national synod at Paris had good right to complain that "perfidious and wily Rome had turned everything to her own profit."* By this act of violence, without a parallel in the whole history of the Church, not only were the remnants of the Gallican liberties, but the entire old Church of France was annihilated at a single blow, and replaced by a new papal creation. The modern French Church can prove its right to exist only on the assumption that the Pope is invested with autocratic power, and bound to no law of the Church. By the very act of its foundation, the new Church was made ultramontane in the extreme, and good care was taken in the framing of the Concordat that it should continue in complete subjection to papal despotism. While the Pope thus "set canon law at defiance"† in theory and practice, substituting for it his own absolute power, he declared the bishoprics vacant, and gave the French Church an entirely new episcopate. This he did without instituting canonical proceedings against the former occupants of the sees, or receiving letters of resignation from them. The new bishops were thus bishops exclusively of papal right, and were intended to rule the Church of France as his delegates; nor do their successors at the present day hold their episcopate otherwise than by papal commission. "They do not believe," writes Emile Ollivier, in his work entitled "The 19 Janvier," Paris, 1869, "that they have derived their authority from the apostles, but that they receive it from the Pope. In everything relating to matters of faith, to theological studies, and to the liturgy, they are subject to the 'congregations,' or bodies of papal officials who advise the Pope in his decisions concerning Church government." Thus the bishops are degraded to mere prefects of dioceses, and have lost that frankness of speech and action which for-

* To quote the words of Archbishop Oiffra of Paris. See MICHAUD-HOFFMANN: *Der gegenwärtige Zustand der römisch katholischen Kirche in Frankreich*. Bonn, 1867, p. 11.

† Theiner: "Les deux concordats," i. 369.

merly characterized them. But on the other hand the inferior clergy are placed at their mercy. Only the 3425 curates of cantons are not removable from their charges at the bishop's pleasure ; the remaining 30,044 vicars, called *succursalistes*, are not secure in their places for one instant. Without the protection of any diocesan or provincial synod, without a trial, and without any opportunity to defend themselves, they may be removed or deposed "if the Lord Bishop in his conscience thinks right to do so."*

This double thralldom, the bondage of the inferior clergy under the episcopate, and that of the episcopate under the Pope—this Church in which hierarchical despotism rules instead of law—is the fruit of the Concordat of 1801. If Napoleon, in his Concordat policy, aimed at bringing the French Church under the rule of a single hierarch in order that he himself might more readily govern the hierarch, and through him the Church, he accomplished but half of his design. The French Church, indeed, became the Pope's bondmaid, but Napoleon's endeavors to rule the Pope failed ignominiously. The papacy triumphed over both State and Church in France, a result which the French owe to the policy of making Concordats. And more prosperous days will never dawn on the young French Republic if it continues to employ methods of Church policy which violently agitate the public mind without striking at the root of the evil ; if it does not completely nullify the compact made between a despot and an ecclesiastical absolutist, and then find means to set the Church of France on an independent footing again.

After the fall of the Napoleonic empire the German governments were the first to attempt in their respective countries the reorganization of the ecclesiastical affairs, which were entirely unsettled. Of course negotiation with Rome was resorted to. At the very beginning of the negotiations it was a bad omen that the States did not come forward in closed-up ranks, with consonant demands and propositions. Had they thus united, they might have entered upon their negotiations with some prospect of success, and might have secured a uniform organization for the whole Church of Germany. The relinquishment, at the outset, of all idea of

* Theiner : "Les deux concordats," p. 12, sequ.

a common German Concordat at once evidenced and confirmed the disintegration of the German Church ; it was an immediate triumph for the Roman policy and an incalculable injury to the interests of the National Church. Independent commissioners were dispatched to Rome from Bavaria, from the smaller South German States, from Hanover, and from Prussia. With most of these men the Roman Curia had no great resistance to overcome. Their quality warranted that.

Bavaria sent as agent for the State Bishop Haefelin, whose powers were already impaired by age. The mere fact that he was a Roman prelate made it difficult for him to view the position of the Roman Catholic Church in the State in general, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in particular, the question of the relation of the different religious bodies to one another, and similar matters, otherwise than as Rome viewed them. And, besides this, he hoped that a cardinal's hat would be his reward for endeavoring to discharge his mission correctly.

Niebuhr represented Prussia. Distinguished as this man was for intelligence, acumen, and learning in all other matters, it was quite characteristic and of most injurious consequences that he yielded himself to strange delusions about the Roman Church. He regarded it as a power falling to ruin, and spoke of the "increasing harmfulness of the Papal Court."* He saw nothing insidious in Rome's demand to exercise a spiritual jurisdiction "in accordance of the now valid ordinances of the Church," although in the mouth of Rome that meant jurisdiction "in accordance with the canon law of the Middle Ages, valid now as formerly." Rome claimed the right freely to exercise censure, to prohibit books, and to oversee schools, which demands Niebuhr did not oppose. He did not think that there was any need to fear an undue increase of the Church's mortmain property.† He was willing that the oath to observe the civil law of the country should not be required of the bishops. It seemed to him "absurd" that any one should interest himself in endeavors aiming at national

* For an extract expressing these views from Niebuhr's remarkable Memorial to his government, see "Mejer, zur Geschichte der roemisch-deutschen Frage," part 3, pp. 101 sqq. Rostock, 1874.

† According to the estimate recently submitted to the French Parliament, the congregations in France now own a property of 590,000,000 of francs, not a centime of which existed at the beginning of the present century.

churches. He was prepared to allow that the marriages of Catholics should be civilly binding only when solemnized in due canonical form, and that divorces among Roman Catholics should be judged according to canon law. Finally, in regard to his special commission, to conclude a treaty with Rome, he gave utterance to the principle that a Protestant State must be satisfied with obtaining from Rome "an act admitting of ambiguous construction;" and he thought it quite right to make allowance to Roman pretensions if there was ground for the assumption that Rome secretly agreed not to enforce those pretensions. If a German diplomatist conducted his negotiations with Rome upon such principles as these, who would begrudge to the politicians of the Curia this other chance of making merry over German stupidity? But unfortunately there was a tragic side to the matter, for Germany had to suffer for the faults of her diplomatists.

The Curia settled soonest and most radically with Bavaria. Haefelin, who besides being personally unfit for the commission intrusted to him, had but imperfect instructions from his government, was easily persuaded to put his signature, on June 6th, 1817, to the draft of a Concordat which was more favorable for Rome and more disadvantageous for the State he represented than any agreement made between a civil power and the Church for centuries. The Bavarian Government was taken by surprise, and appalled when the document reached Munich. At first it was declared that the Government could not possibly ratify a Concordat whose terms were dishonorable to the State and injurious to the people; the Government could not afford so to compromise itself before the country and the world; Haefelin had exceeded his instructions, and therefore his signature was not binding. But Rome declared that her honor was involved in abiding by a document that she had once signed, and she received the protestations of Bavaria with a deeply injured air. At the same time the Bavarian king was worked upon by ultramontane counsellors. At last Rome graciously consented to have a few insignificant alterations made in the draft, and the King then signed the disgraceful document. He ratified it without further consideration and without any limitation whatever, on the 22d of October, 1817, promising conscientiously to fulfill the conditions

of the treaty, and so the Bavarian Concordat was complete." * In the first article of this Concordat the Roman Catholic Church is confirmed in all the rights and privileges "which she claims by virtue of divine ordinance and the provisions of the canon law." This article recognizes, therefore, the pretension of the "Roman Catholic Church to be the only rightful church, authorized to claim the obedient submission of every validly baptized Christian, and to demand that the civil authorities enforce such submission." The twelfth article accords to bishops liberty, in general, to exercise the powers which are theirs by the canon law of the Middle Ages and by prescriptive usage of the Popes. Among other things this article mentions specially in perfect accordance with the bull *In Cæna Domini*, that bishops may exercise the right of censure over laymen "who transgress ecclesiastical and papal canons." The sixteenth and seventeenth articles annul existing State laws relating to ecclesiastical matters, so far as those laws contradict the Concordat—that is to say, so far as they are opposed to the canon law as guaranteed by the Concordat. And finally by the eighteenth article the State binds itself never to append alterations or explanations to the Concordat without the permission of Rome.

The Concordat, as is manifest by the articles which we have quoted, would, if its provisions had been strictly carried out, have turned Bavaria into a mediæval State. But the vital interests of the present age and the solid reality of outward conditions were altogether too strong for such a change. It was impossible, in particular, to treat the Protestant inhabitants of Bavaria as the law of the Middle Ages directed that heretics should be treated. The Concordat could not, therefore, be carried into practice. To what remedy did they, then, resort?

The country was given a Constitution in 1818, by which liberty of conscience and parity of the different religious bodies was guaranteed, and the *Placet* maintained.† By way of supplement to the Constitution, a Religious Edict was added, in which the general princí-

* See Mejer, l.c., part ii. sect. i. pp. 111 sqq.

† The *Placet* is the official assent of the Government to ecclesiastical decrees required previous to their promulgation within the State boundaries.

ples of the former were set forth in detail. Finally the Concordat was brought in as Appendix to this Supplement to the Constitution, it being provided that the Concordat should operate as part of the civil law only within the limits defined by the Constitution and the Religious Edict. Thus the Bavarian Government took back what it had given away in the Concordat, and promulgated laws mutually contradictory as the one fundamental law of the State.

But was the evil effect of the Concordat done away with by this course? By no means. The civil power, which first gave a solemn promise "conscientiously" to carry out the Concordat, and immediately afterward nullified its most essential provisions, seriously compromised itself and drew upon itself the not unfounded reproach of having committed a breach of treaty. Withal the Curia has imposed a law on Bavaria that is recognized by both Church and State, and though it is not now fully obeyed, still it is in existence; and Rome can bide her time. It was a tremendous triumph for the Curia that it had induced a modern State expressly and solemnly to sanction principles which are its death sentence. By the Concordat the Roman Catholics of Bavaria are constantly reminded that the judicial system of their State needs revolutionizing; and if different times should ever come, the Bavarian Concordat will offer a foundation upon which a kingdom after Rome's own heart may be set up.

Such being the wretched results of Bavarian policy, the other German States might esteem themselves fortunate in not securing any Concordats with Rome. As the fruit of years of negotiation the diplomatists carried home to their governments papal Bulls of Circumscription, relating merely to the organization and limitation of dioceses, to the allowances which the State should pay to bishops and canons, and to regulations concerning the filling of bishoprics and chapters. All these ordinances rested on the Pope's sole authority, and although in the separate States they obtained legal force only by being sanctioned and promulgated by the ruling princes, it was in point of fact the Pope, and the Pope alone who had reorganized the Church in these countries. In a certain sense the Pope was the creator of the new national Catholic Churches. Not the least result of this condition of things was the falling of the different

churches into a new relation of dependence upon Rome; a relation which greatly facilitated the ultramontanizing of the German Church. And at the same time the successes which the Roman Curia had gained in negotiation with the States encouraged the former to wax bolder in its pretensions. A conflict arose in regard to the mode of dealing with mixed marriages, and the struggle ended in the defeat of the Prussian Government. A claim of "liberty for the Church" was advanced, and the Roman Catholic Church of Prussia was allowed to constitute itself a State within the State. Then ensued a struggle with this State within the State, a struggle which has already lasted ten years; and should the Prussian Government still think of resorting to negotiation for the purpose of putting an end to an evil which was one of the results of the policy of seeking Concordats, the attempt would be like trying to quench fire with fire, and the last defeat of the Government would be the worst of all.

Switzerland, too, was drawn into that political current of the Restoration period tending to Concordats. How many warnings against this very policy had been uttered by Swiss statesmen of an earlier day! One had said: "Switzers should have nothing to do with them (Rome and her Nuncios); they take advantage of our single-hearted piety." And again: "It is dangerous to enter into treaty with the Nuncios; one gains nothing from them, but invariably loses." But when in the first quarter of the present century everybody rushed forward to negotiate with Rome, the Swiss, too, found the offers of the Nuncio of Lucerne irresistibly captivating.*

Until then the greater portion of Catholic Switzerland had been under the jurisdiction of foreign bishops. German Switzerland, in particular, had almost entirely belonged to the bishopric of Constance. Now, however, the Nuncio suggested the idea of seeking to secure a separation from Constance, urging that if this were effected, Switzerland being ecclesiastically as well as civilly united and independent, might have one national bishop instead of many petty and foreign bishops. The Ultramontanists advocated this idea, because

* Comp. "Helvetia," *Denkwürdigkeiten für die 22 Freistaaten der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft*. Vol. vii. p. 208 sqq. Aarau, 1832.

separation from Constance would involve freedom from the influence of Wessenberg, who was in disrepute with their party; and many Liberals regarded the project favorably because they were pleased with the prospect of a national bishop.

Men of more penetration, however, saw through the plan of the Curia at once. At the Swiss Diet in June, 1813, Krauer, of Lucerne, remarked that "the idea that greater independence would result from the separation of Switzerland from the bishopric of Constance was a mistaken one. The change would be followed by an increase in the number of Swiss bishoprics, and by this means the Roman hierarchy would gain an ascendancy dangerous to the spirit of the Constitution." In the name of his order, Krauer refused to agree to the proposed separation from Constance. The representatives of St. Gall feared that after connection with the bishopric of Constance had been dissolved, there would be an interim of provisional administration, without regular ecclesiastical government.*

These apprehensions were too thoroughly confirmed by subsequent events. Hardly, at the constant solicitation of the Nuncio, had most of the States concerned decided upon taking the preliminary steps in order to secure separation from Constance; hardly had they expressed to the prince-bishop Dalberg, as metropolitan of Constance, their wish to possess a bishopric of their own in Switzerland; hardly had they communicated to the Pope their desire, "not for instantaneous separation from the bishopric of Constance," but to have the existing diocesan connection dissolved "in the course of time" and "in accordance with canonical regulations," when Rome without further ceremony dissolved the connection, contrary to "canonical regulations," without the consent of the metropolitan, the chapter, or the States concerned. On one and the same day, the last day of the year 1814, the Nuncio, as if in mockery of the Swiss, informed them that the Pope was willing to negotiate with them, and also that he had already dissolved their connection with the bishopric of Constance, without thinking negotiation necessary.

* For these and the following items see the essay on the Nunciature in Switzerland, in "*Helvetia*," vol. viii. pp. 556 sqq. It is to be regretted that this valuable work has been neglected by modern writers.

Thus the *first* result of the policy of negotiation with Rome was the sudden severance of a time-honored connection by a despotic act of the Pope.

Neither the protestations of Dalberg and the chapter of Constance nor the protestations of some of the cantons concerned, against this procedure, which was contrary alike to canonical and civil law, could alter what had been done.

But at least the way was now open for the establishment of the great Swiss bishopric held in prospect by the Nuncio. Assuredly, only it now became manifest that Rome had never seriously thought of establishing any such bishopric. The plan of the Curia was not to establish regular episcopal relations in Switzerland, but to disorganize the Church by a provisional administration.

The people of St. Gall had not been mistaken in their judgment of Rome. The provisional arrangements which they had anticipated were made. Switzerland was treated as a Roman domain, a Nuncio being placed at the head of ecclesiastical affairs and representing all other ecclesiastical authorities, while the Church was governed by an Apostolical Vicar-Provost. Gœldlin, who was appointed to fill this post of Apostolic Vicar, was a mere puppet in the hands of the Nuncio. Indeed the brief by which Gœldlin held his office stated that he was intrusted with the administration only "provisionally, and was to discharge it in accordance with the views of the Apostolic See."

Instead of being under regular episcopal jurisdiction, Switzerland was now a prey to ecclesiastical anarchy, and to the despotic rule of Rome. This was the *second* result of negotiation with the Papal See.

And Rome was determined to continue this condition of things as long as possible. She was resolved that ecclesiastical order should at last be restored in Switzerland only upon such conditions as would guarantee the complete subjection of the Swiss Church. She mercilessly dispelled the dreams of those who still cherished the idea suggested by the Nuncio, of a national bishopric. The very term "national bishopric," Rome now declared, was a wrong one, and the use of it was an offence against the Apostolic See. Of course it was; for a strong bishopric, including the whole country and supported by all the Swiss people, would soon have

been too mighty a barrier against Roman encroachments. Rome rejected as no less reprehensible the desire that "the peculiar rights and liberties of the Swiss in spiritual things" might be continued to them. For this desire, most humbly laid before Rome on the 24th of May, 1815, the Catholic States received the papal reprimand; they were informed that those liberties had already been condemned by former Popes, and that henceforth their ecclesiastical rights should be determined by the instructions now given to the Apostolical Vicar.

From that time nothing more was said about a national bishopric or ecclesiastical liberties. Further negotiations with Rome related merely to the determination of the basis upon which a number of small bishoprics should be established in Switzerland, and to the territorial extent of each. As each of the states concerned labored to secure its own individual interests, some of the most diverse and mutually preclusive projects for the formation of bishoprics were started. It was proposed that the territory formerly under the jurisdiction of Constance should be constituted a bishopric, with the episcopal see in Lucerne; that the original cantons should be formed into a separate bishopric; that the original cantons should be annexed to Chur; that the diocese of Basle should be reconstructed, with the episcopal see in Solothurn; that the episcopal see of the reconstructed diocese of Basle should be in Pruntrut:—all these projects were simultaneously brought forward. Rome, meanwhile, adroitly took advantage of these dissensions and did what she could to foment them. The Nuncio took active part in the formation of the project of Lucerne; he dictated the draft for Solothurn to their scribe; and at the same time he assented to the directly opposite plan of having the see in Pruntrut. After Rome had thus lent her aid in making these different plans, she declared that the projects were too diverse for her to be able to decide at once in favor of any of them, and that moreover none of them fully guaranteed an observance of the principles which the Apostolic See felt constrained to maintain. The consequence was that the negotiations dragged their slow length along through a period of more than ten years, and that finally the Swiss States, having become weary of the protracted struggle, an agreement was

arrived at in exact accord with the desires of Rome, a number of petty bishoprics being established upon terms of most thorough subjection to Rome.

Krauer's prediction, uttered in 1813, was then fulfilled: the old ecclesiastical liberties of the Swiss were lost; several petty bishoprics were established, deprived of all independence, and in complete subjection to Rome. Such was the total result into which the Swiss negotiations with Rome at last issued. It was a strange dispensation that the very State whose representatives had allowed themselves first and most deeply to be drawn into the transactions with the Nuncio—viz., the canton of Uri—was at last left completely outside the new ecclesiastical organization. To this day Land Uri, comparable in this respect to the smallest, newly founded mission in heathen land, has not been assigned to any bishopric.

As far as our view of the history of negotiations with Rome has extended, we have everywhere observed the same result—namely, that the interests of the State and of the National Church have seriously suffered from the policy of making Concordats.

How could the result be otherwise when the idea pre-conceived by Rome, when entering upon an agreement concerning political and ecclesiastical matters, implies her overreaching the State? Ordinarily when treaties are made, it is understood as a matter of course that both the contracting parties hold themselves bound to perform the stipulations of the contract. Not so in the case of Concordats. According to the Roman Church law, when the Pope concludes a Concordat he incurs no obligations; an authority such as his cannot by any means bind itself; it never treats with equals, for every person is subject to it. Therefore every so-called compact, every promise, every solemn pledge on the part of the Pope is of the nature of a gift of grace, which the Pope withdraws at his pleasure. Hence Concordats are really no compacts, but gracious concessions made by the Pope, which at any moment he may nullify.

On account of the uncertainty still prevailing in regard to the standpoint really occupied by Rome in this matter, it will not be out of place to adduce some special evidence in proof of our conception of the subject.

When in 1457 the Germans complained that the Pope did not observe the Concordat, Calixtus III. asked how

they could expect him to bind himself to a Concordat; he declared that gracious gifts conferred by one Pope could devolve no obligations upon a successor in the Papal See. The Roman canonists of that time took the subject into consideration, and decided that Concordats were not bilateral compacts.* This continued to be the opinion of Rome. In 1610 the Rota (Ecclesiastical Court of Appeals at Rome) decided, with reference again to the German Concordats, that these agreements were not of the nature of compacts, but were simply instruments whereby the Pope conferred certain privileges. And in the eighteenth century one of the wisest and best of the Popes, the learned Benedict XIV., declared in a brief to the chapter of Liege (dated December 14th, 1740), that he did not consider himself bound by Concordats. When Hanover was negotiating for a Concordat at the beginning of the present century, Cardinal Consalvi thought it necessary to reaffirm Rome's conception of Concordats for the benefit of the Hanoverian agent. "Treaties," said this cleverest of Rome's diplomatists, "treaties between the States and the Roman Curia . . . are essentially different from every other species of agreements. For . . . the Pope as such . . . sanctions, by means of his papal authority . . . those regulations which, in agreement with civil rulers, he esteems consonant with the good of the Church."† And Rome has expressed herself still more plainly at a very recent date. In 1871 Liberatore, in his book entitled "*Chiesa e Stato*," with unblushing effrontery advanced the following statement: "Concordats are not compacts, but special ordinances on the part of the Pope; they have the nature of compacts only in this respect—namely, that the civil ruler who is a party to them promises to execute their provisions."‡ When Herr von Bonald expressed his assent to this definition he received a commendatory brief from Pius IX. declaring that "he had exhibited the natural and peculiar essence of those agreements *or indulgences*."§ In 1877 the Jesuit Palmieri, professor in the Roman College, issued a "Treatise on the Pope" through the Propaganda press. In this work he says, in speak-

* See the quotations in Janus's "*Der Papst und das Concil*," 1869, pp. 355 sqq.

† See Mejer, l. c. part iii. sect. i. p. 86.

‡ Friedberg, "*Kirchenrecht*," p. 79, note.

ing of Concordats: "It is wrong to suppose that the Concordats which the Roman Pope concludes with Christian princes have the nature of a bilateral compact in the strict sense of that term." According to this writer a Concordat is a particular ecclesiastical law for a realm given by the Pope at the request of the ruler, who specially binds himself to its observance.*

When, therefore, a Concordat is concluded between the Pope and a civil ruler, the relation of the parties is as follows: The State alone assumes obligations; the Pope does but graciously grant something that he may revoke in a moment; the State allows the Pope to bind its hands, while the Pope assures the State that he himself is determined to be free; the State must observe the treaty until the Pope releases it from the obligations which it has assumed; the Pope may break the treaty whenever he chooses so to do.

Such being the case, of course every State that enters into negotiations and makes Concordats with Rome is taken advantage of, and comes to grief. And to secure such an end, is it wise for a State to enter into negotiations and to conclude treaties which are dishonoring to any nation?

Negotiation with Rome appears in the same unfavorable light if we think of still another assumption upon which alone Rome negotiates and makes treaties. Rome never relinquishes any of the principles which she has once laid down. In all negotiations she takes for granted certain admissions on the part of the State—viz., recognition of the Roman religion as the only authorized religion of the State; recognition of the laws of Rome as binding upon all Christians; maintenance of Rome's spiritual jurisdiction to the extent determined by mediæval ecclesiastical law. It is true, Rome can "dissimulate;" she can also secretly pledge herself not to insist upon the claims which she has publicly advanced; but her real fundamental principle is that every power that concludes a Concordat with her concedes the exorbitant rights which she claims—rights which she *must* claim by virtue of the canon law, and which are essentially subversive of any modern State. The modern State which, in spite of these facts, enters into a Concordat with Rome, plays an unworthy part, because

* See the "Deutscher Merkur," 1878, No. 3.

without openly protesting, it permits Rome to dispute its very right to exist. In this respect also, therefore, negotiations with Rome must be prejudicial to the real interests of the State.

Finally, every State which negotiates with Rome is at a disadvantage, because the Curia employs arts that no respectable secular government is prepared to meet. The arts to which Rome has most frequent recourse are as follows : common lying, and fine lying in the use of the mental reservation ; dissimulation ; falsifying and bribing ; endless evasion of definitive decisions ; duping ; surprising ; terrifying the weak, and flattering the strong ; the list is endless.* With inimitable skill these arts are all brought in play, because they belong to the business traditions of the Curia—traditions which are centuries old—and the officials of the Curia, who have been occupied from generation to generation in applying and elaborating these arts, have attained to an amazing dexterity and refinement in their use ; yet I am in honor bound to prove at least the gravest of the charges brought above. The legate Alexander says, in an official memorial (printed in the third volume [not yet published] of Dollinger's Contributions to the History of the last Six Centuries), that he lied to the Germans at the Diet of Worms (1521), telling them that he had received a papal brief (*finxi accepisse me breviam*, etc.). Meglia, formerly Nuncio at Munich, advised Dr. Mast, regent of the seminary at Rottenburg, to lie by mental reservation.

Rome was guilty of falsification, to mention one instance, with regard to the document recording the oath taken by the delegate Caprara at Paris, in 1802. Niebuhr (Mejer, l. c. part iii. pp. 167, 168, 171) also complains of Roman falsification. A notable instance of dissimulation is seen in the fact that at the very time when Rome was protesting against secularization in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century, she shut her eyes to the French secularization of the revolution. A whole system of dissimulation is attached to the administration of the law concerning intermarriage between Roman Catholics and members of other churches. (Sicherer : "Ueber Eherecht und Ehegerichtsbarkeit in Baiern," 1875, *passim*, especially

* I regret that there is not space for details here.

p. 46.) Let those who do not desire to have the efficacy of these arts tested upon them, keep out of Rome's way!

The simplest way of disposing of all negotiations with the Roman See would be by the application of a very clear and obvious principle. If there is established within the territory of a State an ecclesiastical association like the Roman Catholic Church, having connections with foreign superiors, the State unquestionably has the right to watch over such an association and to see that it does not maintain connections which are dangerous to the State; but in no case is it incumbent upon the State to settle the affairs of the association with its superiors.

But the application of this principle in the Old World would involve the commission of a gross injustice. For in Europe it was by the civil power that the various national churches were placed in dependence upon Rome. And now that the churches are thus subjected to Roman authority, ought the power that subjected them to leave them to themselves? For the States to do this would be to abandon the churches altogether to papal despotism.

The only thing which under existing circumstances the States of Europe can properly do is to place themselves under no new obligations to Rome, to make no more Concordats, but to give notice that they will no longer be bound by existing Concordats, and to extend a helping hand to the Catholic national churches, that these may regain their national ecclesiastical rights.

PHILIPP WOKER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I. EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

The Chaldean Account of Genesis.*

This is a scholarly book and only scholars can see its significance. To the ordinary reader it is a collection of ancient fragmentary facts of a religious, social, or civic character, somewhat illustrative, perchance, of national beliefs, habits, and traits, but bearing nothing of a generic or humanitarian relation. While, however, we would not detract from its strong claim to novelty in the eyes of the dilettante littérateur, yet its value is of an altogether different and higher order. It is a most important confirmation of Old Testament authenticity, and effectually silences much of the rationalistic cant as to the comparatively modern date of the biblical Genesis.

The work was originally (in some haste) prepared by Mr. Smith before he left on his last fatal tour of exploration. It appeared five years ago, and is now re-issued with corrections and additions by the eminent scholar, Professor Sayce, of Oxford. It comprises a large number of new texts, the correction of ascertained errors, the confirmation of previous tentative translations, and a statement of the present knowledge of the subject.

The contents are : Preface, by Professor Sayce—The Discovery of the Genesis Legends—Babylonian and Assyrian Literature—Chaldean Legends Transmitted through Berosus and other Ancient Authors—Babylonian Mythology, Babylonian Legend of the Creation—Babylonian Fables—The Story of the Flood, etc. etc. This wealth of curious and interesting matter is distrib-

* **The Chaldean Account of Genesis.** Containing the Description of the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Destruction of Sodom, the Times of the Patriarchs and Nimrod, Babylonian Tables and Legends of the Gods, from the Cuneiform Inscriptions. By George Smith, British Museum. New Edition, revised by A. H. Sayce, Deputy Prof. Comp. Phil. in Oxford. 8vo, 337 pp. Charles Scribner's Sons, 743 and 745 Broadway. Price, \$3.

uted through seventeen chapters, and the coincidences, between the Biblical and Chaldean accounts of the creation and the flood, are made strikingly to appear by divesting the latter of their oriental symbolism and mythologic dress.

The real value of what has been accomplished by these archaic discoveries cannot be known until there shall be a more complete exhumation of original Babylonish remains. For the most of this new knowledge has been derived from Assyrian sources, while not only do the Babylonish antedate the Assyrian inscriptions, etc., but the *latter* are, in large measure, merely duplicates, or copies, of the former.

The author says, "Although it was known that Assyria borrowed its civilization and written characters from Babylonia, yet, as the Assyrian nation was throughout the greater part of its independent existence hostile to the southern and older kingdom, it could not be guessed beforehand that the peculiar national traditions of Babylonia would have been transported to Assyria.

"Under these circumstances, for some years after the cuneiform inscriptions were first deciphered, nothing was looked for or discovered bearing upon the events described in Genesis ; but, as new texts were brought into notice, it became evident that the Assyrians borrowed their literature largely from Babylonian sources, and it appeared likely that search among the fragments of Assyrian inscriptions would yield traces at least of some of these ancient Babylonian legends.

"Attention was early drawn to this fact by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who pointed out several coincidences between the geography of Babylonia and the account of Eden in Genesis, and suggested the great probability that the accounts in Genesis had a Babylonian origin."

Again, "In spite of the indications as to peculiarities of worship, names of states and capitals, historical allusions, and other evidence, it may seem hazardous to many persons to fix the dates of original documents so high, when our only copies in many cases are Assyrian transcripts made in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, in the VII. century B.C. ; but one or two considerations may show that this is a perfectly reasonable view, and no other likely period can be found for the original composition of the documents unless we ascend to a greater

antiquity. In the first place, it must be noticed that the Assyrians themselves state that the documents were copied from ancient Babylonian copies, and in some cases state that the old copies were illegible even in their day. Again, in more than one case there is actual proof of the antiquity of a text. We may refer, for example, to a text, an Assyrian copy of part of which is published in 'Cuneiform Inscriptions,' Vol. II., plate 54, Nos. 3 and 4. In a collection of tablets discovered by Mr. Loftus at Senkerch, belonging, according to the kings mentioned in it, to about B.C. 1600, is part of an ancient Babylonian copy of this very text, the Babylonian copy being about one thousand years older than the Assyrian one.

"Similarly a fragment of a Babylonian transcript of the Deluge tablet has recently been brought from Babylonia, and serves not only to fill up some of the breaks in our Assyrian copies, but also to verify the text of the latter."

Again, "Such are some of the principal contents of the great library from which we have obtained our copies of the Creation and Flood legends. Most of the tablets were copied from early Babylonian ones which have in most cases disappeared; but the copies are sufficient to show the wonderful progress in culture long before the age of Moses or even Abraham. Babylonian literature, which had been the parent of Assyrian writing, revived after the fall of Nineveh, and Nebuchadnezzar and his successors made Babylon the seat of a library rivalling that of Assur-bani-pal at Nineveh. Of this later development of Babylonian literature we know very little, explorations being still required to bring to light its texts. A few fragments only, discovered by wandering Arabs or recovered by chance travellers, have as yet turned up, but there is in them evidence enough to promise a rich reward to future excavators."

We cannot transfer to a review even an approximate idea of the character of the contents of this book. The fragmentary condition of the tablets (when found) is reproduced on the page, and it is only by seeing the actual forms that any conception, of what they are or of what they reveal, can be formed. Again, no mere transcription of parts of the book can exhibit its value to those interested in curious and archaic knowledge. The en-

tirety is needed in such recondite and ancient learning. We commend its study, therefore, to all who are ambitious of possessing scholarly furniture.

E. F. S.

The Critical Study of the Greek New Testament.*

A clergyman should never forget that the study of the Greek New Testament has more claim upon him than either the study of Homer or Plato. Whatever our hearers may do with translations, ministers, at least, should read the New Testament in the original critically and with ease. A student is never safe in the hands of any commentator, unless he is also familiarizing himself with the Scriptures in the original by constant study. We would especially call the attention of the younger clergy to this important fact. Bishop Ellicott, in the preface to his critical and grammatical Commentary on Galatians, says: "If the Scriptures are divinely inspired, then surely it is a young man's noblest occupation patiently and lovingly to note every change of expression, every turn of language, every variety of inflection, to analyze and to investigate, to contrast and to compare, until he has obtained some accurate knowledge of those outward elements which are permeated

* 1. *Novum Testamentum Græcum. Textus Stephanici, A.D. 1550. Accedunt variae lectiones editionum Bezae, Elzeviri, Lachmanni, Tischendorfii, Tregellesii. Curante F. H. A. Scrivener, A.M., D.C.L., LL.D. Cantabrigiae. MDCCCLXXVII.*

2. *A Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek, According to the Text of Tischendorf; with a collation of the Textus Receptus, and of the texts of Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tregelles. Revised edition, with an Appendix on the Principles of Textual Criticism. By Frederic Gardiner, D.D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1880. Price \$3.*

3. *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek. By Alexander Buttmann. Authorized Translation (by Prof. J. H. Thayer), with numerous additions and corrections by the Author. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1876. Pp. xx. 474. Price \$2.75.*

4. *A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament, prepared as a solid basis for the interpretation of the New Testament. By Dr. George Benedict Winer. Seventh edition, enlarged and improved. By Dr. Gottlieb Lünemann. Revised and authorized Translation (by Prof. J. Henry Thayer). Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1877. Pp. xviii. 728. Price \$4.*

5. *Critical and Grammatical Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles. With Revised Translations. By Rt. Rev. Charles J. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. (1) Galatians, (2) Ephesians, (3) Pastoral Epistles, (4) Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, (5) 1 and 2 Thessalonians. Andover: Warren F. Draper, publisher.*

by the inward influence and powers of the Holy Spirit of God."

For the encouragement of those of the clergy who are discouraged from beginning any critical work, be it said, that a knowledge of the language of the Greek Testament can be acquired far more easily than may at first be imagined; for the science of grammar is now so much advanced, and syntax and logic are now so well and so happily combined that no one who is really in earnest, and to whom God has given a fair measure of ability, can for a moment justly plead that an accurate knowledge of the Greek New Testament is beyond his grasp.

But in order to make true progress, a systematic, exegetical study of the Scriptures is necessary. If after the most careful inquiry into all the historical, chronological, geographical, biographical, and social questions which arise in the peculiar circumstances connected with the portion of Scripture under consideration, we would analyze and examine critically the force of every word and particle, consider its grand harmonies with the entire body of divine truth, every faculty of our minds would be called into exercise, grander views of divine truth would be communicated, and the varied doctrines of God's word would shine out in a new lustre.

The annexed list of books has been carefully selected as being specially valuable to those who wish to enter upon a more critical study of the Greek New Testament.

For practical use, the best critical Greek Testament is the Cambridge edition, edited by Dr. F. H. A. Scrivener, 1877, published in the Cambridge Greek and Latin texts. It contains the *Textus Receptus*—i.e. the third edition of Stephens, 1550 (this phrase, "the received text," on the Continent is however applied to the first Elzevir edition, 1624), and in foot-notes indicates the readings of the edition of Beza, 1565; of Elzevir, 1624; of Lachmann, 1842-1850; of Tischendorf, 1865-1872; and of Tregelles, 1857-1872.

Every clergyman should possess a Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek. Of the many excellent Greek Harmonies published, Dr. Gardiner's is by far the best. The distinctive features of this Harmony are:

(1.) A critical text—viz., the text of Tischendorf's eighth or last edition—embodying the latest results of textual

criticism. The readings of the *Textus Receptus* (Elzevir edition of 1624), where they differ from Tischendorf's text, are given in full in the margin. The texts of Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tregelles have also been carefully collated.

(2.) Brief notes relating to matters of harmony have been placed at the bottom of the page.

(3.) A Synoptical Table is given of the arrangement adopted by Greswell, Stroud, Robinson, Thomson, and Tischendorf, in their harmonies, showing at a glance the general agreement on the main points of chronology, and the points of difference where difference occurs. The Appendix, which contains "The Principles of Textual Criticism, with a list of all the known Greek Unicals, and a table representing graphically the parts of the text of the New Testament contained in each, together with the Canons of Eusebius," is a valuable contribution to textual criticism, and of great help to younger students of theology.

Nearly thirty years ago Bishop Ellicott, in the preface to his Commentary on Galatians, wrote: "A stumbling-block that the classical student invariably finds in his study of the New Testament, is the deplorable state in which, till within the last few years, its grammar has been left. It is scarcely possible for any one unacquainted with the history and details of the grammar of the New Testament to form any conception of the aberrant and unnatural meanings that have been assigned to the prepositions and the particles. . . . Here and there in past days a few protesting voices were raised against the uncritical nature of the current interpretations; but it is not, . . . till within a very few years, till the days of Fritzsche and Winer, that they have met with any response or recognition. . . . In the grammar of the New Testament we are now in a fairly promising state. The very admirable work of Winer has completely rehabilitated the subject. It is a volume that I have studied with the closest attention, and to which I am under profound obligations."

In the sixth edition of Winer, published one year after the above was written, Winer says: "I have labored incessantly to improve the work," . . . and "I have spared no effort to arrive at truth." The seventh edition (1866), edited by Dr. Lünemann, has been greatly improved, the editor not only inserting the numerous man-

uscript notes from Winer's hand, but adding whatever was deemed worthy of attention in the theological works which have appeared since Winer's death.

Buttman's Grammar has appeared since Winer's. Professor Thayer, in his preface, says: "The author makes generous acknowledgments of indebtedness to Winer; but a slight examination of the book will convince the reader that it has a valid claim to be regarded as an original work. In fact, the general attitude and drift of the two writers differ perceptibly. . . . It has seemed desirable to the translator, . . . to adapt the work to the easy use of students drilled in other grammatical text-books. In order to accomplish this object, I have added running references to the classical grammars . . . of Hadley, Crosby, Donaldson, and Jelf. . . . In addition, . . . references have been given to Professor Goodwin's Syntax of Moods and Tenses, and to Winer's New Testament Grammar."

Both of these grammars are accompanied by very full indexes.

A marked and valuable feature of Winer's Grammar is his copious citation of passages in the New Testament, there being at least more than 21,000 passages cited as illustrations.

In Buttman's Grammar the index contains at least 10,000 references. There is no exaggeration in saying that the student who has these two grammars in his library possesses a grammatical commentary on every difficult text, we might say on every difficult construction, in the whole Greek Testament. Professor Thayer deserves the thanks of all students of the New Testament for his scholarly translation of these two important works.

Of the merits of Ellicott as a commentator it is not necessary to speak. The student who wishes to study the New Testament systematically, in some such method as has been indicated in this article, can find no guide safer or more suggestive than this "English Meyer."

R. F. W.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools.*

This is a capital series of books, and one to which we are glad to call attention. They are "edited for the syndics of the University Press," the general editor being Dr. J. J. S. Perowne, Dean of Peterborough. The intention is to furnish an annotated edition of the Bible in manuals of convenient size, good print, and very careful, thorough preparation, which manuals shall be sufficient for all ordinary purposes, and enable students in school and college to be examined in Holy Scripture, as well as in the classics and mathematics. Competent scholars are engaged upon the work, and already there have been issued some four or five of the Old Testament books, and some ten or twelve of those of the New Testament. The remaining portions of the Bible will be ready in due season.

Canon Farrar's *S. Luke* is a very creditable specimen of condensation, of clearness, and general soundness of theological teaching. An introduction of about 35 pages contains a large amount of valuable matter concerning the Gospels in general, the life of *S. Luke*, the authenticity and characteristics, together with an analysis, of this Gospel. Next follow the text and notes, and the volume is closed with seven brief excursions on points which there was not room to treat of adequately in the notes. Dr. Farrar quotes (as is natural) from his *Life of Christ*, and other books prepared by him, for fuller illustration of various matters in the Gospel history and teaching.

Mr. Plummer's *S. John's Gospel* is equal to that just noticed. It is prepared with great care and excellent judgment, and it deals with controverted portions of the Gospel in a large-minded, catholic spirit, always, however, in due submission to the standards of doctrine of the Church of England. We commend his notes on *St.*

* *The Gospel According to St. Luke. With Maps, Notes, and Introduction.* By F. W. Farrar, D.D., Canon of Westminster. 1880. 16mo, pp. 392. Price, \$1.10.

The Gospel According to St. John. With Maps, Notes, and Introduction. By the Rev. A. Plummer, M.A., Master of University College, Durham. 1881. 16mo, pp. 388. Price, \$1.25.

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, together with the Lamentations. By the Rev. A. W. Streane, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. 1881. 16mo, pp. 442. Price, \$1.25.

John 6 : 26 to end of the chapter, as being judicious, fair, and admirably expressed.

Mr. Streane's volume on the Prophecy of Jeremiah and the Lamentations we have had time to examine only cursorily ; but judging from his introductions to the two books, of some 40 pages, and such of the notes as we have looked into, we have no reason to doubt that Mr. Streane is a worthy coworker with the other eminent men engaged in this noble undertaking.

On the whole, then, saving of course on some of those points wherein critics and scholars are divided, we regard the present volumes as valuable additions to the exegetical literature of Holy Scripture. J. A. S.

The Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles.*

The Bohlen lectureship is a very creditable foundation, and belongs to Philadelphia ; but it seems rather strange that New York City, with all its wealth and the strength of the Church here, has nothing of the kind, whereas this rich and powerful metropolis ought to take the front rank in foundations of every kind for encouraging scholarship, and increase in sound theological literature. The present volume is not a large one. It consists of four lectures, in accordance with the terms of the founder's bequest, requiring "two or more lecture sermons" annually. The titles of the lectures are, "General Characteristics of the Book" (Acts of the Apostles), "The Relation of this Book to the Gospel History," "The Book of the Acts in Connection with the Apostolic Epistles," and "The Usefulness of the Book for Instruction and Edification." As might be expected, coming from Dean Howson, the lectures are interesting and timely, and they point out very clearly and forcibly what a vast, irreparable loss it would have been to the Church had the Book of the Acts of the Apostles been lost, or never have been written. The volume addresses itself to intelligent laymen quite as much as to clergymen, and we are glad to commend it to their earnest attention. J. A. S.

* The Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles. By the Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. The Bohlen Lectures, delivered in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, April, 1880. New York : E. P. Dutton & Co. 12mo, pp. 186. Price, \$1.

A Dictionary of the Bible.*

This dictionary aims to present in a popular form the condensed result of the most recent investigations of all matters which pertain to the study of the Scriptures. The editor has been aided in the preparation of this volume by several competent scholars. The Rev. S. M. Jackson and Mr. Clemens Petersen have prepared most of the historical, biographical, and archæological articles; the Rev. Edwin W. Rice wrote the geographical and topographical articles; the Rev. W. P. Alcott had charge of the department of natural history. The Rev. D. S. Schaff, the Rev. Isaac Riley, the Rev. M. H. Williams, and S. Austin Allibone, LL.D., have also assisted in perfecting the work. The appendix contains many valuable tables. The colored maps at the end were prepared and engraved specially for this dictionary by Messrs. W. & A. R. Johnston, of Edinburgh, Scotland.

For popular use we know of no better Bible Dictionary. It is concise, but still of sufficient fulness to answer its purpose, and in its scholarship is exact without being pedantic.

R. F. W.

The Lord's Prayer.†

This little volume sprang out of the following passage from one of Mr. Ruskin's letters to the clergy of the Church of England on the Lord's Prayer: "My meaning in saying that the Lord's Prayer might be made the foundation of Gospel-teaching was not that it contained all that Christian ministers have to teach; but that it contains what all Christians are agreed upon as first to be taught; and that no good parish-working pastor in any part of the world but would be glad to take his part in making it clear and living to his congregation." Mr. Gladden is a well-known clergyman among the Massachusetts Congregationalists, not new to the making of books, whose teachings are first lived in his

* A Dictionary of the Bible, including Biography, Natural History, Geography, Topography, Archæology, and Literature. With twelve colored maps and over four hundred illustrations. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union. Price, \$2.50.

† The Lord's Prayer. Seven Homilies. By Washington Gladden. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 16mo, pp. 192. Price, \$1.

own mind and heart, and then presented to his people. These sermons are bright, plain, fresh, practical, remarkable for their straightforward purpose, written in simple Anglo-Saxon, excellent specimens of a style of preaching which obtains largely with the Church clergy, and can be safely studied with personal benefit. They give one an altogether new sense of the wideness of the range of the Lord's Prayer and of the fulness of its meaning. They strike the happy medium in sermon-writing, and are both entertaining and instructive.

J. H. W.

II. SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

Wace's Bampton Lectures.*

These lectures earnestly and vigorously endeavor to uphold "the positive grounds on which our faith rests, and to enforce its authority." The work is not properly of an apologetic character; but, as the author says, "It is an attempt to exhibit, in some measure, the supreme claim of the Gospel upon our allegiance; and it endeavors to show, not merely that the Christian creed may reasonably be believed, but that we are under a paramount obligation to submit to it." The second lecture, "The Faith of the Conscience," is of peculiar depth and value. "The warning of conscience," says the author, "is something distinct in kind from the conviction that fire will burn if we put our hands into it; or that if we disregard the law of gravitation we shall suffer for it. In those cases the consequence is visible and immediate; but it is the characteristic of conscience to warn a man of a future judgment, even when he escapes all visible penalty. The conviction it enforces is not merely that certain consequences will follow our evil deeds, but that we deserve certain penalties, and that we must expect them to be inflicted, because we deserve them. It is a

* The Foundations of Faith considered in Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in the year MDCCCLXXIX. at the Lecture founded by John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By Henry Wace, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in King's College, London. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 713 Broadway. 1880. Price, \$3.50

conviction, in other words, that we are responsible, and that we shall be held to our responsibility. Now this conviction, to which every moralist, every teacher, every ruler appeals, seems in its very nature to be antecedent to all experience, and dependent for its force and vitality on a principle external to it. It appears, moreover, wholly inexplicable by any process of evolution. Without disparaging the applicability of that hypothesis to explain certain moral phenomena, it can hardly account for the existence, in the earliest moral consciousness of humanity, of an instinct with which visible experience was often painfully in conflict—even more flagrantly in conflict than at the present day. If the Scriptures be regarded simply as very ancient records, they bear witness to the intensity with which, in the very dawn of history, this conviction was grasped; and similarly, on the monuments of ancient Egyptian civilization, it is exhibited as exercising a predominant influence in the most remote antiquity." This universal instinct of mankind in all ages tends "to establish, not merely the validity of our belief in a personal God, but its naturalness; and is a sufficient reason for its prompt and unhesitating acceptance by the mass of men." The lectures go on to consider separately, faith as "the Witness to Revelation," then "The Faith of the Old Covenant," "Our Lord's demand for Faith"—which is a very strong and admirable lecture; then "The Faith of the Early Church," "The Faith of the Reformation," and "The Faith of the Church of England," close the main part of the volume. There is a stronger Lutheran tinge than is necessary, given to the later lectures; but the contrast can never be too strongly drawn between the mere passive assent to dogmatic statements, and the personal living *trust* upon a divine Being as the essence of a New Life. Nearly half of the volume is devoted to the *Notes*, containing among other things, valuable extracts from S. Athanasius, S. Hilary, S. Origen, and others.

J. H. H.

Dr. Barry's Boyle Lectures.*

In preparing the Eight Boyle Lectures for the press, Dr. Barry has rewritten the whole of them, and added much, so that the result is a work in nineteen "Chapters," grouped in two "Parts," and the richness, elaboration, and comprehensiveness of the whole, are vastly greater than in their original shape of "Eight Lectures." The idea is, to embrace, in one view *The Manifold Witness for Christ*, instead of confining the view to only one line of thought or argument. The author takes for granted the argument of his first course of Lectures (those for 1876), in regard to the cumulative force of the various evidences of Natural Theology. In that course he considered the convergent force of the various lines of that natural witness for God, as absolutely irresistible, were it not crossed on every line by the disturbing power of the great Mystery of Evil: although that was capable only of weakening, but in no sense destroying, the predominant force of the argument. In the present work, the first "Part," of ten chapters, shows how, in the midst of this mingled light and darkness of Nature, Christianity comes in with the only solution of the mystery that Humanity has known. Christianity is, indeed, supernatural: but that is a very different thing from being *preternatural*. The idea of a Covenant with God is then taken up, then the relation of God and Man in primeval history, then the general and special Covenants of God, the Voice of God in the Soul, and the Answer of the Soul to God, the unfolding of the Messianic Idea in the Old Testament, the spirituality of Man and the Resurrection of Christ, the Law of Mediation, and the Mediation of Christ, the Revelation of God in Man, Christ as "The Word," the Climax of Christian doctrine, and its effect on Christian Morality, these will give some idea of the scope of the first "Part." The second "Part" is devoted to "The Positive Evidences of Christianity." In this we find treated the function and method of Christian Evidence, the consideration of Christianity as an intellectual

* *The Manifold Witness for Christ*. Part I. Christianity and Natural Theology; Part II. The Positive Evidences of Christianity. Being the Boyle Lectures for 1877 and 1878. By Alfred Barry, D.D., D.C.L., Principal of King's College, London, Canon of Worcester; Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 713 Broadway. 1880. Price, \$3.

system, as a moral force, and as a spiritual life ; the life of Christ ~~as seen by the world, and as seen by his Disciples, the province of faith, and lastly the doctrines of faith.~~ In all this we find ~~everywhere~~ the firm touch, the practised hand, the clear, cool head, of the educator by profession ; who has here crystallized ~~in~~ carefully wrought form the substance of his life work ~~in~~ the giving of systematic and definite instruction. In two directions, specially, the work will be of use :—First, in strengthening those who have suffered somewhat from the thousand-fold spirit of doubt and denial, now so rife,—a spirit in large measure *honest*, and therefore here dealt with kindly and *reasonably*, and therefore hopefully ; and, secondly, in recognizing the necessity of fresh positions, of additional strength, in dealing with the spirit of the age,—an age which has, in various directions, gained for us *additional* weapons with which to meet the increasing attacks from without. It is a clear and solid work, from a master hand, deserving to rank with the “heavy artillery” in the battle-royal against the hosts of denial and of darkness. J. H. H.

III. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

Dr. Potter's “Sermons of the City.”*

These sermons go far to explain the growing hold which Dr. Potter is gaining not only upon his congregation, but upon the general mind and confidence of the Church. They are plain-spoken, bold, honest, and perfectly fearless in touching precisely those points which most *need* to be touched in the focus of a great city's high life—such a focus as Grace Church is. We wish we had room for an extract of two or three pages, at least, from the sermon on *The Empty Life*. We should like also to make special comment on nearly every sermon in the book ; but this would lead us too far. Dr. Potter's style is singularly pure, simple, and straightforward. Every word can be understood at first hear-

* *Sermons of the City*. By Henry C. Potter, D.D., Author of “*Sisterhoods and Deaconesses at Home and Abroad*,” “*The Gates of the East*,” etc. New York : E. P. Dutton & Co. 1881. Price, \$1.75.

ing. His sentences are not elaborate or contorted in structure. There is a total absence of the stilted. When there is a rise to a climax, it is done so easily, so naturally, that the reader is carried along without being aware of any effort. There is a breadth of simple *common sense* that pervades the whole, and which, when delivered in a manner so gravely serious and impressive as Dr. Potter's, commands the confidence of the laity to an almost unlimited degree. The large figure to which the benefactions of Grace Church have risen during his rectorship, are the ripe fruit of such searching and honest preaching as we find here. There is, indeed, no evidence of any great theological learning, or even any very churchly tastes. There are more frequent references to Bushnell and other outside writers than to any Church authors,—indicating both the breadth of Dr. Potter's reading and of his sympathy. Occasionally there is a slip which would have been impossible, with anything like *thorough* professional scholarship. For instance, on p. 24, we read: "It was 'a great company of the chief priests,' who, on the *day of Pentecost*, scarce fifty days after that dark and bitter Friday, 'were obedient unto the faith.' " Now in this brief sentence, Dr. Potter has managed to make *three* great blunders, any one of which ought to have been impossible. The first, and most palpable, is, that it was "a great company of the *priests*" "that were obedient unto the faith," and not "*chief* priests." This is a plain error of quotation. But this error should have been impossible, for the word translated, in other places, "chief priests," includes only the High Priest of the day, those who had been High Priests before him, and those twenty-four who were heads of the twenty-four courses of the priests. In its widest sense it *could* not mean *more* than the members of the Sanhedrim. It would be manifestly out of the question to make a "great company" out of seventy men, and leave any behind! Yet Dr. Potter has nailed himself to this blunder by the preceding sentence, which makes the former half of a very striking antithesis: "It was the chief priests who, amid the anguish of Calvary, were the most scornful spectators and the most relentless foes,"—which is quite correct. The "*priests*," however, were nearly 5000 at the return from the captivity, and were doubtless still more numerous in the days of the Apostles. It would be easy to win "a great

company" of *them*, and yet the converts might scarcely be missed when they were gone. The *third* blunder is, in fixing the submission of this "great company of the *chief* priests" to the faith, on the great day of Pentecost "scarce fifty days after that dark and bitter Friday." If he will look a little more carefully, he will find that the recorded gain from the "priests" was only made after the appointment of the Seven Deacons—in all probability not less than a year or two (probably longer) after "that dark and bitter Friday." This is not the only passage open to critical remark; and we mention it thus plainly, because a writer of such eminence and popular power owes it to himself and to his position to be more careful. Even in a sermon written *currente calamo* such errors ought not to be possible. But when they are printed in a book, they are unpardonable. Let us turn to pleasanter points:—Dr. Potter occasionally introduces a brief story into a sermon,—sometimes with admirable effect, as on page 108, in the powerful sermon on *The Slaughter of the Innocents*:

The son of a man very eminent in one of the learned professions in England, was once standing in a felon's dock, awaiting a sentence of transportation. Said the judge, who knew his parentage and his history, "Do you remember your father?" "Perfectly," said the youth; "whenever I entered his presence he said, 'Run away, my lad, and don't trouble me.'" The great lawyer was thus enabled to complete his famous work on *The Law of Trusts*; and his son, in due time, furnished a practical commentary on the way in which his father had discharged that most sacred of all trusts, committed to him in the person of his own child.

These stories are introduced on principle, as an admirable way of arresting the attention, and *fixing* the application of a great truth; but now and then the transition is rather too sudden for the pulpit. In one place (p. 145) there is a slip which we regret. Speaking of the Family, he says: "What is it which, *long before a Church of God existed*, gathered men in that first and simplest worship around the family altar?" The Church of God began in the Garden of Eden, and both Adam and Eve were members of it, and to that Church was given the primal prophecy that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head. In the sermon on *The Christian Life Organic*, there are several assertions

which hardly seem to us correct. As to filling the place of the traitor Judas, Dr. Potter says : " Christ, while speaking to his disciples of many other things ' concerning the Kingdom of God ' does not seem to have spoken or acted concerning this." And again : " Christ's farewell words to his disciples say nothing of any duty which belonged to them between his Ascension and the day of Pentecost but this ' Depart not from Jerusalem,' " etc. And again, still more positively : " It is very true that Christ had given to the eleven Apostles no command to fill up their ranks to their original number, nor to do a great many other things, which, nevertheless, they did." How is Dr. Potter so certain that our Lord did *not* include these things among those of which he spoke to them " concerning the Kingdom of God ?" The *presumption* is, that wherever they spontaneously agreed in any course, the Lord's having spoken to them about it was the cause of their united action. Wherever there was " much disputing" first, we may more reasonably conclude that the Lord had *not* spoken ; but only there. Dr. Potter says, in this sermon : " In looking over a record of more than a thousand sermons which I have preached from this pulpit, I have not found it easy to find many of them which relate to this subject"—the " divine origin or the divine authority of the Church." But this very sermon contains many noble passages. After expressing the broadest charity for those outside, he says : " But all this does not affect in the smallest degree the question whether or no Christ has founded a Church, whether or no you and I have sought, and as we believe found, its fellowship ; or whether, having found that fellowship, we are not bound to walk in it, to work in it, to live in it, and to die in it." Again, after much which we should like to quote, we read : " The Church exists in the world not to enjoy our patronage, to invite our criticism, to gratify our taste, but to accept our discipleship. Her organized life, the due succession of her ministry ; the due ministration of her sacraments, the stated order of her worship, the ceaseless proclamation of her Lord's message,—all these things are not less important, less essential to-day, than when, in the beginning, Peter convened the hundred and twenty disciples to choose the Apostle Matthias. This Christian organization is divine ; and, as such, it speaks its message, and holds forth its ministrations. It may be that some of us

have been taught another and very inferior view of this whole subject. It may be that, consciously or unconsciously, we have come to regard the Church as a kind of social appendage, a rather more dignified marrying and burying and baptizing association, which we are to make use of when tradition or custom or decorum constrains us to, and at other times conveniently forget. But . . . the moment that we look into the history of its origin, and the character of its claims, we find that its own position is an utterly and radically different one. It asserts of itself nothing less than a divine origin, and it demands a definite obedience. We are to do certain things, to submit to certain ordinances, to observe certain days and rules and usages, because there is claimed for them a heavenly authority. We may say that that authority is groundless ; but, until we have proved it, our allegiance is not an option, it is a debt." These are noble words. But we must stop. There is a glow of manly honesty, a straightforwardness of practical teaching, a thoroughness in holding up a high standard where *the world* would expect something very different, which we rejoice over. The few blemishes we have spoken of are the merest trifles, compared with the breadth and strength and high-toned devotion to duty, which animate this fresh, hearty, and noble volume from beginning to end.

J. H. H.

Scotch Sermons.*

This remarkable book is dedicated "to Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, the Dean of Westminster." Its preface opens with the words : "This volume has originated in the wish to gather together a few specimens of a style of teaching which increasingly prevails among the clergy of the Scottish Church" [meaning by that phrase the Presbyterian Established Kirk of that country]. The preface goes on to say that the volume "may serve to indicate a *growing tendency*, and to show the direction in which *thought* is *moving*. It is the work of those whose hope for the future lies, not in alterations of ecclesiastical organization, but in a profounder apprehension of the essential ideas of Christianity ; and especially in the growth, within the Church, of such a method of pre-

* Scotch Sermons. 1880. New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1, 3 and 5 Bond Street. 1881.

sending them as shall show that they are equally adapted to the needs of humanity, and in harmony with the results of critical and scientific research." To find out what is meant by these sounding phrases, let us turn first to a sermon on "Law and Miracle." Here we are told that "miracles belong to the poetry of religion." Of modern thinkers, with modern modes of thought, the preacher says: "They simply take up the position that in none of the records which have been preserved do we possess the clear and sufficient testimony necessary to constrain belief in such events; and therefore, while they pay homage to the revelation with heart and understanding, and confess its power and beauty, in the miracles they see only the result of the prevailing tendency to embody spiritual truth in material form." And the "calmer judgment" coolly sums up as follows: "The change in the circumstances of Christianity has taught us to distinguish the relative proportions of its doctrines; and where, as among ourselves, its truths are the birthright of the community, and its influence has created habits of thought, to suppose that its right of possession can be dangerously affected by the denial of miracle, is to misapprehend its power and essence." One more quotation. After stating how the Judaic elements were suffered to die out of the early Church, the preacher continues: "And the process is not yet complete. As the generations pass, we learn, as we have said, to see more clearly what are the divine and eternal, what the human and transitory, elements of the revelation. We become able to distinguish between what is essential and what is not; and as the latter drops into the background—whether it be miracle, or apostolic ordinance, or the clinging remnants of that Judaism which puts assent to dogma in place of faith—the grandeur, and beauty, and educating power of the revelation of Christ are felt only the more, and command a more reverent homage." Well, when Scotch Presbyterianism has thrown overboard from the Gospel everything like miracle, apostolic ordinance, or dogma, what shall we look for next?

Let us turn to a "conservative" preacher, who is treating of "Conservation and Change": and don't forget that he *is* a Conservative, for otherwise we might suppose now and then that he was the other thing. He says: "It is the merest commonplace to say that our

opinions must inevitably change, that we cannot possibly conserve them in the old forms and frameworks of the past, that modification of belief is as certain and as necessary as the slower modification of physical structure, organization, and life. And every one should be encouraged to subject his opinions to the free air of thought, to revise his convictions continually in the light of progressive evidence, verifying them by more and more adequate tests. That is wise, wholesome, beneficent teaching ; because it is not possible for us to store up our convictions, with the view of preserving them, as exotic plants are cherished in a conservatory by artificial heat." That is pretty well for a conservative ! But yet he pleads hard for the preservation of existing "institutions." "If they *are* to pass away," he says, "they should be allowed to do so by the process of fulfillment and superannuation, not by external assaults or undermining. The student of history knows that they will all die soon enough, without our hands helping on the process ; and to make it the labor of a life, or of a party, simply to assail institutions, to be iconoclasts by profession, is little better than being incendiaries." And then, what would men have instead ? "What institution could be put in the place of existing ones, that would be free from defect ? It is sometimes in the interest of a fancied movement of reconstruction that the work of demolition is advocated. The overthrow is meant to be a process preliminary to upbuilding. But it is as impossible for us to devise a social structure that shall be free from blemish, as it is to construct a creed with the stamp of finality upon it. That which to our theoretic wisdom might seem superior, were its merits tested by practical existence would soon be seen to be as faulty as its predecessor, many hidden evils being developed by experience. In addition to this, it may be increasingly difficult to found new institutions as society advances. Individualism seems more and more dominant, as time goes on ; and, if the corporate life of the nation—as embodied, for example, in the Churches of the State—gives way before this individualistic movement, it is difficult to see what can take its place, that will be half so salutary or half so enduring." As to his idea of a National Church, he says : "A National Church ought to be a reflection of the national character, and an organic growth springing out

of that character." It is clear, then, that the Scotch Kirk sprang out of Scotch character, and claims no direct connection with our Lord or His apostles. But how it should be an organic growth springing out of Scotch character to have a National Kirk professing to hold the Westminster Catechism, without believing in even so much as the miracles of Christ or the authenticity of the Gospels, we leave Scotchmen to settle.

Let us now turn to a sermon on "Authority," and see what fresh light we can find. The preacher has found out that "The right of each of the books which make up the Scriptures to a place in the sacred canon can be established only by the authority of the early Councils of the Church." But instead of accepting this as evidence of the true position of the Church as the pillar and ground of the truth, our Scotch preacher takes it as proving the *lack* of authority in the Bible. He says: "Whatever, therefore, may be said in favor of the theory which represents the Bible as true because authoritative, it cannot be affirmed of it that it is consistent with the *principles of Protestantism!*" He goes on to say clearly that "the Scriptures are authoritative only in so far as they are true." And this word is "totally inapplicable to such portions of Scripture as the descriptions of the dimensions and furniture of the tabernacle in Leviticus [he means *Exodus*]; but it shows singular ignorance of Holy Scripture that neither the preacher nor the editor knew enough of the Bible to correct so palpable an error as this], the genealogies of Chronicles, the historical narratives even of the Old Testament, in their details at least, the purely historical and the apocalyptic sections of the New Testament itself. . . . We assert that the Scriptures are authoritative because true, and *only* in such portions of them as awaken a response in those in whom reason and conscience, the faculties by which alone truth can be discerned, have been duly developed." A little further we find out the position of those who "intelligently discern" the extent and application of these principles. "The Councils . . . which settled the Canon have failed to prove irrefragably that the Gospels and the Book of Acts were written before the close of the I. century. Consequently they cannot be certain that all the words in them attributed to Christ and His Apostles were really the words they spoke, undiluted, undistorted,

unexaggerated. Neither can they be absolutely sure that the miracles ascribed to them were actually wrought by them. They cannot therefore accept the words which Christ is reported to have spoken, nor those which the apostles unquestionably wrote, as the utterances of teachers who can be proved by the miracles they wrought to have had such access to the mind of Omniscience as made them absolutely infallible in all they said and wrote. The argument for the infallibility of the Old Testament falls with that for the infallibility of the New," etc., etc. And, to sum up all, the preacher says: "The only authority, I must maintain, which we can attribute to any of their utterances is that of its *inherent reasonableness*. I can discover no better." Anything in the Bible, therefore, which does not seem inherently reasonable to a Scotch Presbyterian, who has lost his faith, is clearly *not* "the word of God."

But among these "dissolving views" of Christianity, we see one sermon headed refreshingly, "The Things that Cannot be Shaken." Let us see, from it, whether *anything* is left. We follow the preacher through proposition after proposition, until at length he himself asks: "Is this not Pantheism? they are asked. *Be it so*, they reply. To some such pantheistic conception of the universe, intellects at once speculative and devout will be driven, they believe, as the only refuge which will afford them secure shelter from the assaults of materialistic atheism." But still, he pleads, this "Christian Pantheism does not, like some of the cruder forms of pantheistic speculation, attribute a moral indifference to the Being who is 'all in all.' It holds, on the contrary, that this Being presents Himself to man as the moral ideal—that He is in man as that mysterious energy which convinces him of sin, and urges him on to higher moral attainments." In fine, the preacher makes out that there are only three things that cannot be shaken: "*First*, that righteousness is blessedness; *second*, that there is a Divine Being who is seeking to make men sharers in His blessedness, by making them sharers in His righteousness; *third*, that in the cravings of the human soul for communion with that power without it, which is the source of its being and the ground of its moral life, there is the pledge of its immortality." But he goes on to acknowledge that "the two latter of these propositions he knows *are questioned*. They cannot, however, be legitimately

denied except by those who are willing to abandon themselves to an *absolute scepticism*." So, then, if Scotch Presbyterianism has not reached "absolute scepticism," it seems, by its own confession, to be next door to it. "Duty, God, immortality," are left alone as the only "truths which no discoveries of science, no investigations of the biblical critic, no wind of modern doctrine, can really endanger." Any decent Pagan could accept these three words, and be as good a Christian as these Scotch Presbyterians. Still another of these preachers says of the Biologist: "His denial [of a future existence] is only intellectual error, and no intellectual error can ever be fatal to spiritual life. He may not be a Theist, in the sense in which you are a Theist. He may not accept, as you accept, the Christian doctrine of immortality, but does he thereby *cease to be religious*?" There seems to be nothing left but "the Fatherhood of God," which the Pagan poet taught when he said: "For we are also His children;" and "the brotherhood of Jesus of Nazareth," which leaves Him a mere man like the rest of us. If Scottish establishmentarianism has come to such a pass that nothing is left of it but dust and ashes, the whirlwind will soon carry it away. What would John Calvin and John Knox think of their work if they could see it now? J. H. H.

Characteristics of the Church.*

These are thoroughly good Parochial Sermons. Their style is lucid and perfectly free from flowers of rhetoric, and from "padding." They indicate careful study without any affectations of learning. Authorities have been used but are not paraded. The teaching is sound, and in its form well calculated to disarm prejudice, and even enlist sympathy for truths which are too often suspected and unpopular.

Of course these lectures are chiefly historical. The Church is a fact of history; and Mr. Marks shows how all her characteristics are well-defined from the very beginning. His remarks on Episcopacy and on the Reformation are very clear. The very caution of his teaching is highly to be commended. It is only too

* Characteristics of the Church. By Alexander Marks, Rector of Trinity Church, Natchez, Miss. New York: T. Whittaker. 1881. Price, \$1.

easy to put the truth before unprepared or prejudiced minds in such a way that they hate it more than ever. This is especially easy in preaching to a miscellaneous congregation on such subjects as the sacramental system, and the Holy Eucharist. Mr. Marks's readers will have nothing to unlearn; nor are they left without positive truth on this great Mystery. But there is nothing to frighten them or to exasperate opposition. These lectures form a very readable introduction to the more minute study of the history of the Church, and abundantly deserve a wider public than the congregation to which they were at first addressed.

W. K.

Dr. Bevan's Sermons to Students.

These seven sermons are full of all the better influences and brimming intelligence of modern scientific progress, and yet *without* surrendering one particle of the grand essentials of Evangelical Truth, as commonly so reckoned. At least, this is the intention of the Author, although he says he has "no very great care" as to "what science may do with ecclesiastical religion"—whatever he may mean by that. There is a studied vagueness in dogmatic statement, though the desire of the author is to be thoroughly orthodox in those few great truths which constitute the orthodoxy of "the Evangelical Denominations." There is nothing in them that goes beyond this; but, after the "Scotch Sermons," even this is something to be thankful for!

J. H. H.

The Gifts of Civilization.†

Dean Church is one of the most scholarly and accomplished of the present generation of English divines. He has not published many books, but those which have been given to the world from his pen fully sustain his well-earned reputation for wise and discriminating judg-

* *Sermons to Students and Thoughtful Persons.* By Llewelyn D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 743 and 745 Broadway. 1881. Price, \$1.50.

† *The Gifts of Civilization, and other Sermons and Lectures, delivered at Oxford and St. Paul's.* By R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L., Dean of St. Paul's, Honorary Fellow of Oriel. New edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880. 12mo, pp. 441. Price, \$2.25.

ment, for profound learning, and for clear and vigorous style. The present volume contains four sermons, on the Gifts of Civilization, Christ's Words and Christian Society, Christ's Example, and Civilization and Religion, preached some ten or twelve years ago before the University of Oxford. Following these are lectures delivered in S. Paul's Cathedral more recently, on Civilization before and after Christianity, on Some Influences of Christianity upon National Character, and on the Sacred Poetry of Early Religions. The entire volume is full of interest and instruction to thoughtful men and women. Perhaps, however, the lectures on the Vedas and the Book of Psalms will be found to attract the attention of our readers quite as strongly as they have ours, since nothing can be more impressive and encouraging to the Christian than to find, by actual examination, what a contrast there is between the obscure, unreal, and childish poetry of the Vedic and Zend hymns, and the inspiring, wonderful Psalms of David. "The Vedic hymns," as Dean Church well says, "are dead remains, known in their real spirit and meaning to a few students. The Psalms are as living as when they were written; and they have never ceased to be what we may be quite certain they have been *to-day*, this very day which is just ending, to hundreds and thousands of the most earnest of souls now alive. They were composed in an age at least as immature as that of the singers of the Veda; but they are now, what they have been for thirty centuries, the very life of spiritual religion; they suit the needs, they express, as nothing else can express, the deepest religious ideas of 'the foremost in the files of time.'"

We need not enlarge: the volume is sure to find a large circle of appreciative readers. J. A. S.

IV. FINE ARTS.

Gleanings in the Fields of Art.*

It is pleasant to have a book on art, that without being too learned or too technical, may prove of com-

* *Gleanings in the Fields of Art.* By Ednah D. Cheney. Boston: Lee and Shepard. 1881. One vol. 12mo, pp. 345. Price,

mon value. So long as the majority of readers must content themselves with general information, that information should be given them in a comprehensive, entertaining, yet instructive way.

In this work of Mrs. Cheney, we have such a book. It is very readable, and conveys actual information in an agreeable, colloquial manner. The title is a modest one, but the gleaner has evidently been diligent in gathering a goodly sheaf.

The introductory chapter is well conceived and suggestive. The succeeding ones, which treat of Greek, Early Christian and Byzantine Art, and those on Michel Angelo, Albert Durer, English, French, and American Art, are full of information for the ordinary reader, and well expressed. There is a pleasant chapter on Old German Art, and a very appreciative one on Scotland's great genius, David Scott. The work closes with a sketch of Contemporaneous Art.

The book commends itself by its simplicity and true artistic feeling. It will be of service to those who wish to have a fair general idea of the vast theme. While it may prove sufficient for some, it will lead others to a more extensive acquaintance with the great subject of which it treats. The usual tone of the book is a high one throughout. In the Essay on Michel Angelo are these words: "The marvel of Michel Angelo's art is its union of soul and body, the highest reach of spiritual thought with the greatest naturalness and vigor of action." What does Savonarola say? "Where does beauty come from?" "From the soul," he answers. "See the beauty in a face which comes warm from the divine beauty, from prayer, you will see the beauty of God shine in that face, it will be an angelic face." And this from the chapter on Greek Art: "In the Museum at Naples. . . . I sat there hour after hour . . . and I recognized anew the unity of all true Religion, all high Art, and all noble Humanity."

E. B. R.

V. LITERATURE.

British Thought and Thinkers.*

The field of this book is narrower than its title indicates. Its specific object is limited to a notice of those who have given direction to psychical and ethical investigation, in Britain, from the Mediæval times until now. That would seem to be a task of Titanic proportions. It is a long range from Roger Bacon to Herbert Spencer, both as to time and the number of thinkers who fill the intermediate space. Still the author has been wise in his selection of typical men in the department to which attention is directed, and he shows ample resources of knowledge and the necessary critical faculty for the satisfactory performance of his work. In part the material of the book was presented, originally, as lectures before audiences in Johns Hopkins University, but it is now somewhat modified, in form and texture, to more nearly meet the demands of the scholarly reader.

The introductory chapter, "General Philosophical Attitude of the English Mind" defines the position of the writer in reference to philosophic thought, and puts into your hand the clew by which he expects you to follow him in his exposition, criticism and history of metaphysical literature. He is an idealist in the strict and proper sense, *i.e.*, in his opposition to the adoption of the empirical and phenomenal methods of physics in the investigations of mind whether in psychology or ethics. This is evident from the drift of his remarks on "Mediæval Anticipations of the Modern English Mind." He says "what I would urge is that if you consider among these schoolmen those who were strictly English, you find in them already distinct evidences of that type or direction of thought which in the last two hundred and fifty years has become so pronounced a characteristic of English mind. The leading traits of this type may be enumerated as follows: (1) Subordination of theory to practice; (2) Profession of agnosticism or scepticism respecting ultimate philosophical ques-

* *British Thought and Thinkers. Introductory Studies, Critical, Biographical, and Philosophical.* By George S. Morris, A.M., Lecturer on Philosophy in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, etc., etc. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1880. 12mo, pp. 388. Price, \$.

tions, and (3) Zealous cultivation of physical science as a thing of palpable demonstration and practical certainty and utility."

We purposed to notice the contents of each chapter, as affording an idea of the skill and scope of the author, but find it is impracticable from the impossibility of condensation without breaking the continuity of treatment. Much of the book, except that which is biographical and historical, is compact generalization, and will not bear reduction without the loss of logical connection and lucidity. We content ourselves therefore with a simple enumeration of topics: Chapter I., Introductory; Chapter II., Mediæval Anticipations of the Modern English Mind—John of Salisbury, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, William of Occam; Chapter III., Englishmen of the Renaissance—Emund Spencer, Sir John Dawes, Richard Hooker; Chapter IV., William Shakespeare, Poet, Philosopher; Chapter V., Francis Bacon; Chapter VI., Thomas Hobbes; Chapter VII., John Locke; Chapter VIII., George Berkeley; Chapter IX., David Hume; Chapter X., Sir William Hamilton; Chapter XI., John Stuart Mill; Chapter XII., Herbert Spencer.

A short biographical sketch precedes the more direct analysis of the contributions of these *workmen*, to philosophic literature. The environments of a man have much to do with the formation of character and the habits of mental life. These brief notices are valuable in giving us a standpoint from which to view the process of mental dissection that is to follow. This advantage is well illustrated in the reviews of John Stuart Mill. The chapter on Locke is noteworthy as being the germinal period of much of the speculation from his day till now. Berkeley, Hume and Kant, Mill, Tyndall, and Spencer appear to be, in various phases, reactions or antagonistic sequences from his "*tabula rasa*" premise. "Locke sought, in his general tendency, to reduce the intelligible to the sensible, and to explain the former through the analogy or on the basis of the latter. The ontological agnosticism to which he was led was the same which, in the whole history of thought, has resulted—as it must necessarily result—from similar attempts. That Locke did not vigorously deduce and apply all the consequences of this result and proclaim a universal philosophical scepticism, was due to the confusion of his own thought, and to the practical hold

which the vital, synthetic truth, by which alone man, as man, in the true sense lives, through which the universe subsists, and which all positive, affirmative philosophy defends, had upon him. It remained for David Hume, as the spokesman of a later generation to complete Locke's destructive work."

He gives an appreciative and exhaustive review of Herbert Spencer's *Philosophy and Ethics*, and subjects his methods to critical and caustic analysis, concluding, in part, as follows: "True philosophy is catholic. It welcomes science as, in truth, its handmaid. It reveres religion, which is but the faithful love and service of the supreme object of philosophy's demonstration. But it insists that things distinct shall not be identified with each other, nor adulterated by admixture of elements foreign to themselves."

"From this point of view we are certainly justified in insisting, in special behalf of British philosophy, that the *coup de grâce* be at last administered to the idea which has so long had all the power of a superstition, that so-called empirical, phenomenally descriptive, sensational, or physiological psychology, or that physical science, be its highest law evolution, or gravitation, is, *as such*, either philosophy or any specific part of philosophy, or has any competence whatever to answer, even negatively, philosophical questions."

We commend the book as one of interest and profit to a thoughtful reader. It will be a provocative to those not familiar with the history of philosophical speculation and will be a pleasant and instructive companion to those who are disposed to retrace old paths of study.

E. F. S.

Words and their Uses, Past and Present.*

Mr. White puts into these volumes his conviction "that in language, as in morals, there is a higher law than mere usage, which, in morals as in language, makes that acceptable, tolerable, and even proper in one age, which becomes intolerable and improper in another,"

* *Words and Their Uses, Past and Present. A Study of the English Language. Third Edition. Revised and Corrected. By Richard Grant White. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo, pp. 467. \$2.*

Every-Day English: A Sequel to "Words and Their Uses." By Richard Grant White. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo, pp. 544. \$2.

and "that this law is the law of reason, toward a conformity to which usage itself is always struggling, and although constantly hindered and often diverted, winning its way, little by little, not reaching, yet ever nearing an ever receding goal." He believes that language has a normal growth. He is the enemy of grammar and the public schools as agencies to develop one's powers of expression. Those who write what is read with pleasure and profit do not get their power or learn their craft, in his opinion, from dictionaries, grammars, or books on rhetoric. "The study of language must be pursued for its own sake. It has only a place, although a high one, in that general culture which gives mental discipline and makes the accomplished man. He who cannot write with clearness and force without troubling his soul about pronouns and prepositions, syntax and definitions, may better change his pen for a hoe and his inkstand for a watering-pot." These are the general ideas upon which the studies in these volumes are based. Mr. White is right in saying that the acquisition of a good style comes only through native ability and general culture, but he is something of a *doctrinaire*, if not a dogmatist, in the development of his views, and likes to antagonize others or pick an author to pieces as well as one likes to eat. He has the right on his side, and these volumes are very racy reading to one who has any interest in the literature of expression; they sparkle with illustrations and abound in statements of the great canons of good writing and speaking; but they do not form a treatise, they hang together chiefly as a batch of critical essays, not as a condensed and vital treatise like Mr. Arnold's writing on the wider subjects of general literature. They are also too controversial and antagonistic, too much given to the airing of Mr. White's personal opinions, and too airy and self-confident, and yet we have nothing in American literature which quite takes their place or contains the same amount of illustrative literary matter. When a man writes about critical points in literary expression or the use and misuse of words, he is apt to lose his common sense and become a mere quibbler himself. Mr. Lowell has a touch of this, and Mr. White has more than a touch. These volumes are chiefly critical of verbal expression, but, for the most part, the criticism is correct and in accordance with the ripest culture. Mr. White

scatters good seed with a liberal hand, but he wraps it up in an immense deal of entertaining banter. Where he is content simply to teach, putting aside all badinage, he is generally correct, and his literary precepts have the weight of practical experience. His volumes are a necessity to any well-equipped writer or speaker. During the ten years which have passed since the first edition of his "Words and their Uses" appeared, he has had the satisfaction of seeing his views adopted by the leading literary authorities of the country. He has corrected hundreds of errors in writing and speaking, and it is chiefly free banter which has helped to carry his works into the large circulation which they have reached. Mr. White, like the late Mr. James Spedding, delights to champion a cause which is in the position of the "under dog in the fight," and his championship is always effective.

The King's Missive, and other Poems.*

Thinner and thinner grow the volumes of our poets after they are threescore and ten. The poems in this collection are all fugitive and occasional, but not below the general level of earlier years. "The King's Missive" is a leaf out of the Quaker persecution in New England two centuries ago; "Adam Morrison" is another Quaker story; there are beautiful tributes to Garrison and Bayard Taylor, and the ballad of "The Minister's Daughter" is a lesson of Christian charity. An excellent portrait accompanies the volume.

J. H. W.

My Winter on the Nile.†

Mr. Warner's delicate humor, the finest aroma of wit, appears to excellent advantage in his sketches of Eastern travel. He sees things with American eyes, and conveys to the reader the vivid impressions which come from a comparison of Egyptian life with our own. The volume is simply a story of what he saw and experienced during a winter on the Nile, and its interest

* *The King's Missive, and other Poems.* By John Greenleaf Whittier. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 16mo, pp. 99. \$1.

† *My Winter on the Nile.* By Charles Dudley Warner. New Edition, revised. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 496. \$2.

mainly arises from the truthfulness and humor of the descriptive sketches. It tells us what the Egyptian is to-day, but has very little to say of what he was two or four thousand years ago. In the analysis of Mr. Warner's humor it is difficult to say what makes his writings enjoyable. He never sparkles, and yet he entertains; he makes no attempt at pictures, and yet his coloring is often exquisite; the delight comes from a succession of gentle surprises, some contrast, some incisive word, some bit of local color, which is unexpected. One knows not how to compare him: he is not like Irving; he has none of that *bizarre* humor which is characteristic of Americans; and yet no one but an American would put things as he puts them. His Nile journey, like that in the Levant, has materially contributed to our knowledge of the Oriental world. But to enjoy his books one must be at leisure, and willing to be entertained. They are absolutely unique in their way. Except that the subject is present life in the East, there is nothing to distinguish "My Winter on the Nile" from "My Summer in a Garden." Mr. Warner's talent has no wide range, but it is all his own.

J. H. W.

Early Spring in Massachusetts.*

It has become the sacred trust of Mr. H. G. O. Blake to put the manuscripts of the late Henry D. Thoreau, the poet-naturalist of America, in order for the press. People would not read his books while he was living, but he wrote down his thoughts just the same, in the conviction that his audience would yet be found. The last volume, compiled from his manuscripts by Mr. Emerson, was published in 1865, a collection of his letters. This was shortly after his death at Concord. There still exist abundant materials for several volumes, and the present clippings from his journals, made to include, during a series of years, his observations on the notable things to be seen in the spring season in Massachusetts, if a fair specimen of what remains unpublished, will greatly increase the desire to read all which he wrote. He was first a naturalist, and then a poet. He had a singularly fresh contact with nature. He was a wild man, in the sense that he knew nature better than he

* Early Spring in Massachusetts. From the Journal of Henry D. Thoreau. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo, pp. 326. \$1.75.

understood men, and perhaps loved it better. In addition to this, he understood himself, and lived so much with himself that he came to talk aloud with his own soul in his writings. The result is a singular blending of outward observation with introspective thought. He indicates rather than develops these thoughts from his daily journal. They read as if he were talking aloud. They are full of revelations of himself and of insight into nature. He sees himself and the outer world with the eyes of a true poet. The present volume is more like his "Concord and Merrimac Rivers" than like his other volumes. It is fresh, serious, suggestive. J. H. W.

Lost in a Great City.*

Ushering us at once into the thrilling scene from which the book takes its title—the loss of a little girl whose attendant, a servant, is run over in our metropolis—this candid and earnest exposé of the ordeal through which the destitute have to struggle, discloses its waif as at first befriended by a rough, good-hearted youth, and then sold off by his jealous step-mother to one who traffics in show-girls. Uncongenial as is the life to which she is thus doomed, the child is shut up to it under divers masters for several years, yet succeeds in holding her soul apart from its deadly environment. Ultimately she enjoys a rescue and also a recovery of lost relatives (who are of the truly better class), vouchsafed, alas, to too few of those thrown down, and not themselves straying, in our city's trying life. The story is told in an animated way, and amounts in fact to a romance. Yet it is an unvarnished disclosure, holding one simply by its benign and earnest purpose. It is well wrought and thoroughly practical, conveying in happy guise constant lessons of childish innocence and unaffected charity. Timely and plain are the pictures here drawn of the terrible cost to many a soul of the entertaining exhibitions to which, in more senses than one, it does indeed impart life. The sequel reminds one of Job's happy survival and abundant reward, in accordance with the older economy of temporal requitals.

J. H. A.

* *Lost in a Great City.* By Amanda M. Douglas, author of "In Trust," etc. New York: C. D. Dillingham, 1881. Cloth, 12mo, 468 pp. Price, \$1.50.

Lenox Dare.*

Virginia Frances Townsend has favored the public for at least two decades with numerous and interesting works of fiction, besides editing Arthur's *Home Magazine* and contributing to periodicals. Lately, she seems to have made a specialty of treating character as exhibited in her own sex, and in this she has not erred. The heroine of the present volume is presented to us in quite a natural and hearty way. Her nature, revealing perfect simplicity and uniform trueness, is not at all destitute of quickening sensibility and even imaginativeness. Pure in heart, she is thrown amid favoring associations; while life in nature's peaceful domain is also at once her privilege and joy. Still there is here no perpetual childhood, nor any tame sameness of unheroic virtue. The knowledge of good and evil comes not late even to her; but the electric shock—no less thrilling than illuminating—because it is like thunder out of a clear sky, only starts every noble instinct into most positive and vigorous life. It has brought no invasion of holy ground, and while Lenox has learned the world it is not true that thereby she has become of it. Thus a noble and steadfast adherence to principle commends this tale as worthy of pondering. The style flows freely and with limpid clearness, while the interest is well sustained, without any resort to unhealthful sensations. Occasional lines glow with unquestionable beauty, and here and there sentiments occur in advance even of the pervading moral tone.

J. H. A.

Foreign Classics for English Readers.†

In the series of "Foreign Classics for English Readers," the publishers intend to introduce to the notice of the reading public the great writers of Europe. The classic authors of Italy, France, Germany, and Spain may be very familiar to us by name, and yet we may know very little of their works or their place in the lit-

* Lenox Dare. By V. F. Townsend, author of "A Woman's Word, and How She Kept It," etc. New York: C. D. Dillingham. 1881. Cloth, 12mo, 451 pp. Price, \$1.50.

† Foreign Classics for English Readers. Pascal. By Principal Tuloch.—Montaigne. By Rev. W. Lucas Collins; M.A.—Saint Simon. By Clifton W. Collins, M.A. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880. Price, \$1 per volume.

erature of the modern world. The effort of the publishers "will be to present the great Italian, the great Frenchman, the famous German, to the reader, so as to make it plain to him what and how they wrote, something of how they lived, and more or less of their position and influence upon the literature of their country." Principal Tulloch has given us a very graphic sketch of the life and works of Pascal. Especially interesting are the two chapters in which he analyzes the "Provincial Letters" and the "Pensées."

But of the three volumes before us, Montaigne will be the favorite book to read on a rainy day. The very thought of Montaigne and that quaint library of his warms the heart. The author truly says of him: "He has been admired, quoted, borrowed from, openly and covertly, more than any writer of his day. . . . He has had hosts of imitators, more or less successful; but no one has equalled or even approached him. He stands at the head of a long line of charming writers, who have put on record their experiences of life, their opinions of men and things, their pregnant thoughts or their lighter fancies, with the informal grace and ease of choice conversation—still the best as he was the first."

R. F. W.

The Fireside Encyclopædia of Poetry.*

The scope of this book is clearly set forth by Mr. Coates in his modest preface: "It has been the editor's aim to present a comprehensive collection of the poetry of the English language, one that will be a welcome companion at every fireside; and which, while representing all that is best and brightest in our poetic literature, should contain nothing that would tend to undermine any one's faith or destroy a single virtuous impulse. . . . Each poem has been given complete, . . . and it is believed that none of the most famous minor poems of the English language will be found missing from these pages."

The editor has very wisely discarded the chronological arrangement, and classified the poems according to

* The Fireside Encyclopædia of Poetry. Comprising the best Poems of the most famous Writers, English and American. Compiled and edited by Henry T. Coates. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 8vo, cloth, pp. 1001. Price, \$5.

their subject-matter, under the following heads : Poems of Home and Childhood, of Memory and Retrospection, of Love, Personal Poems, Historical, of Patriotism, Legendary and Ballad, of Nature, of Places, "Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs," Moral and Didactic, of Labor and Social Questions, of Sentiment, Weird and Fantastic Poetry, Humorous and Satirical. The book contains three indexes—one of the names of the poems, a second of authors, and a third of the first lines. The editor has likewise added in an appendix some very interesting explanatory and corroborative notes.

This work takes the highest rank among books of its class. The editor has displayed a most excellent judgment, and it is a real pleasure to examine the index of authors, and note all the good things it contains. We know of no richer collection of English and American poetry.

R. F. W.

Motherhood.*

This little poem has rare merit as an artistic production, but chiefly for its embodiment of a pure and tender sentiment to which every womanly nature will respond. The poem breathes the hope, fulfilment, joy and pain of motherhood, and is so delicate and yet so fervid an expression of the deep longing and love of a mother, that we commend it warmly for its truth and beauty, in this age when so much mock modesty and false sentiment regarding the duties and sphere of woman prevail. Such a poem cannot fail to awaken the purest and best feelings in its readers.

E. M. B.

On the Threshold.†

Mr. Munger is the Congregationalist pastor at North Adams, Mass., and is a notable example of the wide and high culture to be found at times among the preachers of this body in New England. He is a man who has read and thought vastly beyond the religious body in which he serves, and these papers on Purpose, Friends and Companions, Manners, Thrift, Self-Reliance and Courage, Health, Reading, Amusements, and Faith,

* Motherhood. A Poem. Boston : Lee & Shepard. 1881.

† On the Threshold. By Theodore T. Munger. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 16mo, pp. 228. Price, \$1.

originally read to his young people on Sunday evenings in the winter, are almost the best we have seen for stimulating and guiding young people in the work of life. Mr. Munger aims to "bring young men face to face with the inspiring influences that in a peculiar degree surround them." The language is at times Emersonian, and the book is right-toned and catholic from beginning to end. No book so good or healthy has appeared since Principal Shairp brought out his lectures on "Culture and Religion."
J. H. W.

Oratory and Orators.*

Professor Mathews always writes with a purpose. He is never dull. He possesses the happy gift of gathering up all the good things that lie scattered through innumerable volumes, and presenting them in a new and pleasing form. In the volume before us the author discusses the whole subject of oratory in a most thorough manner. The book abounds with anecdotes of famous orators, and is especially rich in illustrations of his absorbing topic. It would be a blessing to many clergymen, to say nothing of the congregations who are compelled to listen to them, if they would profit by the suggestions advanced in this work. It is inspiring and suggestive, and worthy of a place among the choicest works of a student's library.
R. F. W.

VI. HISTORY.

History of the Conquest of Spain.†

This work is in two volumes of about 475 pages each, published with accustomed care and elegance by Little, Brown & Co. of Boston. The cover is adorned with the arms of Gibraltar in gold; and the work is dedicat-

* *Oratory and Orators.* By William Mathews, LL.D. Seventh Thousand. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Company. 1879. 12mo, cloth, pp. 456. Price, \$2.

† *History of the Conquest of Spain by the Arab Moors, with a Sketch of the Civilization which they Achieved and Imparted to Europe.* By Henry Coppée. Boston; Little, Brown & Co. 1880. Two vols. 8vo. Price, \$5.

ed to the author's grandson and namesake, Henry Coppée Thurston, born in the Austrian Tyrol just as the manuscript was going into the publishers' hands, in June, 1880. Turning from the pleasing exterior to the contents, our expectation of enjoyment has been more than realized. The work from beginning to end is like a novel, so fresh and bright is the story which it tells. Beginning with the history of Mohammed, the story of his disciples and their conquests is brought down to the time when almost the whole of the northern coast of Africa was in their power, and they found themselves looking across the straits of Gibraltar, longing for further conquests. It is a record of romantic interest, and, as a condensation of all that the average reader needs to know of Mohammed and his religion, the story as here told is of very great value.

Pausing now in the history of the "Arab-Moors"—which is the generic name of the Mauri or Moors after their combination with the Arabs—the author transports his readers to the fair fields of Spain, and paints in vivid colors the panorama of successive incursions by the Huns, the Alans, the Suevi, the Vandals and finally the Goths. Then he tells the story of the Gothic empire, which held sway for three centuries in Spain; shows how it waxed great and then declined to its fall; and, finally, just at the period when the Arab-Moors were gazing across the straits, everything was ripe in Spain for conquest by just such ardent conquerors. The effect produced by thus recording the double line of events is exceedingly dramatic. The reader himself feels the hush of suspense, and dreads the shock of arms. Here are the two masses surcharged with electricity—we wait for the spark. And it came in the revenge of a father for the betrayal of his daughter. The story of Florinda is told, and the many results which followed, the passage of the strait, the comparatively easy victory of the Mohammedans, the rapid and brilliant progress of Tarik to Granada and Toledo and even to Saragossa.

Then comes the story of adverse events and of the beginnings of reconquest by the Christians. European history begins to mingle with the record of these Eastern conquerors, and several chapters are taken up with the story of Charles Martel in his onslaught upon the Moslems. The disorders in Spain, the envies and

cabals, the treacheries and intrigues, the fortunes of monarchs and dynasties—all these fill much of the second volume, and finally the overthrow of the Moham-medan power, the abdication of Boabdil, "the unlucky," and the exaltation of Ferdinand and Isabella, January 6th, 1492. But the interest of the book does not cease with the story. Of very great importance is the latter part of the second volume, which takes up the second part of the title and portrays "the civilization which the Arab-Moors achieved and imparted to Europe." We are told of their social life, houses, customs, and costumes; of their system of government; of their poetry, their progress in metaphysics, history, and exact science; in geography, chemistry, and medicine; their inventions and discoveries; their architecture, art and libraries. All these gave their virtues to European civilization, and in those virtues we have an inheritance much greater than most of us appreciate. C. W.

A History of Greece.*

Mr. Timayenis claims that his "purpose in this work has been to write a history of Greece based as far as possible on the testimony of authorities contemporary with the events narrated." And while acknowledging, in general terms, his obligations to "Gibbon and Grote, the most eminent of modern historians" (according to his dictum), he affirms that "a careful study of the Greek writers has led him to differ from them on many important matters." From the tone and tenor of the preface we were led to expect that now, at last, had arisen one claiming descent from the old Greek nation, who was to write the history of that wonderful people as it ought to be written, and to put to the blush all modern writers of history. We very soon found, however, that there is in these volumes a great deal more of pretension and show than of real substance or value. They are in fact merely a compilation, and put together indifferently well, even as a compilation. Mr. Timayenis has laid under contribution Gibbon and Grote very largely, and has "appropriated" their labors to an extent which would astonish our readers, had we space to

* A History of Greece, from the Earliest Times to the Present. By T. T. Timayenis. With Maps and Illustrations. In two volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1881. 12mo, pp. 457, 451. Price, \$3.

point out his proclivities in that direction. No doubt he has done the same to a greater or less degree with others, such as Thirlwall, Curtius, Mure, G. W. Cox, Finlay, etc., of whom (though he does not name these eminent writers) no one at all acquainted with Greek history and literature can well be supposed to be ignorant. His mode, too, of referring to authorities is very unsatisfactory. Throughout the work, as a whole, he does not trouble any one with quoting authorities; but when he thinks it necessary to do so he gives names, as Plutarch, Xenophon, Thucydides, Gibbon, Grote, and the reader, in nearly every case, may find where the author is quoting from, if he can. This is not only vexatious to reader and student, but is of no value whatever. Further, Mr. Timayenis' English, with all the help he obtained from Grote, Gibbon, and others, is not the best possible by any means. It is readable, but it has no grace or spirit in it, such as one might look for in narrating the history of that wonderful people whose impress on the world was and is so deep and lasting.

In conclusion, we cannot say much in praise of this new so-called history of Greece. It may be turned to good account perhaps, and made useful in some cases, and as it is not only a compilation from various sources, but also covers within reasonable space the story of the Greek people from very early date to the present day, it may be used as a reading book in schools and private classes. Some such idea seems to be involved in the dedicating the volumes to Dr. J. H. Vincent, "President of the Chatauqua Literary Club," the said club being supposed to be under a sort of obligation to buy and use the work.

J. A. S.

History of the Development of the Human Race.*

Lazarus Geiger ranked, up to his death in 1870, as the greatest of recent German philologists. His work is limited in quantity, and chiefly confined to original investigation, but it is rich and strong in quality, and independent of other searchers in the same field in its conclusions. The papers are on "The Importance of Lan-

* Contributions to the History of the Development of the Human Race: Lectures and Dissertations. By Lazarus Geiger. Translated from the German by David Asher, Ph.D. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 8vo, pp. 156. Price, \$2.50.

guage in the History of the Development of the Human Race," "The Earliest History of the Human Race in the Light of Language, with Special Reference to the Origin of Tools," "The Color-Sense in Primitive Times, and its Development," "The Origin of Writing," "The Discovery of Fire," and "The Primitive Home of the Indo-Europeans." Each of the essays deals with the question of origins in a frank and ingenuous fashion, not so much to display the author's ability as to ascertain the truth, and the discussion is brought within the reach of any intelligent person. Professor Geiger differs widely from Mr. Max Müller on many points, always, however, giving the reasons for his opinions; but on the question of the value of philological studies to explain the conditions of life in prehistoric times, the two professors are at one. He holds that "the whole chain of development of each of our ideas up to its most primitive form is lying buried before us in words, and is awaiting its excavation by linguistic science;" and this position is the key to the purpose of each paper, and indicates its scope. The essays may be faulty here and there, as in the one on the color-sense, but they are of great value in the studies of the authentic beginnings of the human race. The author takes the ground that the primitive home of the Indo-Europeans was Germany, making out a strong case, but not venturing to assume the hypothesis to be a fact. In his opinion, no evidence has ever been adduced in favor of migration from the East. The several dissertations affiliate with the earlier sections of Mr. Spencer's "Principles of Sociology," though they have evidently been prepared without working upon the basis of evolution. They vastly increase our historical consciousness, and show forth quite clearly the earliest beginnings of human culture. The volume is the twentieth in "The English and Foreign Philosophical Library," and is written in an admirable style, clear, fresh, untechnical, accurate.

J. H. W.

VII. BIOGRAPHY.

Reminiscences of Thomas Carlyle.*

To those who have been admirers of Carlyle this book will be no disappointment. His weird rhetoric and supernal logic have anticipated any and every posthumous disclosure. "Sartor Resartus," "Latter Day Pamphlets," and "French Revolution," filled his prophetic calling and revealed his mission. No new criticism, as to his character or aims, will be likely to materially modify the judgment already stereotyped on literary history. His unique personality and his eccentric intellection will always be associated with wonderful clearness of vision and incisive statement of truth. His position as a thinker and writer has been a regnant one for twenty-five years, and these collated remains, by Mr. Froude, throw no new light on him as a mental gymnast.

And yet these "Reminiscences" are a revelation. Their striking feature is that they are intensely autobiographical, and that their unconscious and indirect design constitutes their power, and will give them lasting worth. While composed of sketches of his Father, James Carlyle, Edward Irving, Lord Jeffry, his Wife, Jane Welsh Carlyle, Southey and Wordsworth, they meet a long-felt want and fill out the counterfeit presentment ideally prepared by every student of literature. His quaintness, humor, frankness, versatile genius and crabbed moodiness are here limned with photographic accuracy and life. The deepest consciousness of honesty supplies the pigments and impels the movements of the artistic hand. Perhaps never before was so great a man so fully revealed to minute analysis. He, *himself*, anticipates the work of the critic and the moral anatomist, and gives all the formative influences that gave him his character and controlled his life. This is shown more particularly in his notice of his Father, underlying and shaping which is an omnipotent, yet unconscious, egoism, ever subordinate to filial reverence.

* Reminiscences of Thomas Carlyle. Edited by James Anthony Froude. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1881. Price, \$2.50. Students' edition, 75 cts.

The different relations borne to the subjects of these sketches have appealed to the wealth of his nature and shown a quality and extent of reverence hitherto unacknowledged. The notices of his Father and his Wife exhibit an affectionate side surprisingly tender to those who have regarded him alone as a prophet of denunciation, or as a cynical marauder in the world of letters. He will hereafter be recognized as having heart as well as brain.

In these notices also will be found his characteristic honesty of thought and expression. Friendship has not clouded his vision or blunted his analytic faculty. His opinions, not always trustworthy, are given with heroic frankness when we think of the work and fame of such men as Southey, Wordsworth, Hazlitt, Lamb and De Quincey. We have not the space for extracts, to illustrate his ideas or his honesty. Doubtless he had his affinities, as the result of constitutional and educational forces, as all men, great or small, have; and these have, perhaps unconsciously, biased his judgment. But his trenchant and sarcastic power, while seen on every page, is ever dissociated from jealousy or fear. They may somewhat disturb our idolatry of celebrities, nevertheless we hail the "Reminiscences" and commend them to all readers. We have enjoyed them, and, through them, we see Carlyle in a new and better light. E. F. S.

Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook.*

Mr. Stephens has presented to the Church a new edition of one of the most interesting and instructive biographies which it has ever been our good fortune to meet with. Probably no one of the clergy of the Church of England for the last fifty or sixty years, is so well known and appreciated by American Churchmen as Dr. Hook, and to none can the appeal made by this volume be more effective than to those who watched the manly, straightforward, high-toned course of action of the Vicar of Leeds. The volume is prepared by loving as well as competent hands; it is full of valuable suggestive matter for younger as well as older men; and we

* *Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., F.R.S.* By his Son-in-law, W. R. W. Stephens, Prebendary of Chichester, etc. Sixth edition. London: Bentley & Son. (New York, James Pott.) 1881. 12mo, pp. 638. Price, \$2.50.

doubt not it will obtain a very large circle of readers in America.

Walter Farquhar Hook was born in 1798. His father was a clergyman of the Church of England, and his early education was of course in the sober, serious ways of the Church. In due time he became a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and at the age of twenty-three took orders and began ministerial life as a curate to his father. His ability as a preacher and his activity and genial character, brought him into early notice, and he was offered positions of a desirable kind in various parts of England. In 1837 he was elected Vicar of Leeds, and it was in this field of labor that he spent twenty-two years of his life, and became known all through the Anglican and American Churches as the vicar *sans peur et sans reproche*. It was here that he took his full share in the great and trying questions which arose in the Church, and arrayed her sons on different sides in conflicts of almost life and death. It was here that he put in shape his well-known sermon (which was preached in the Chapel Royal before the queen and court), "HEAR THE CHURCH," a sermon which produced a marvellous effect, and of which 100,000 copies were sold. It was here that he delivered his very able lecture, "The Three Reformations, Lutheran, Roman, Anglican;" it was here that he wrote his famous letter to the Bishop of S. David's, "How to Render more Efficient the Education of the People;" and it was here, among the people who knew and honored him, that he made those various speeches on important topics of doctrine and policy, of which his biographer gives a clear and full account, and which showed plainly that the energetic, clear-headed vicar knew well the ground which he occupied and was ever ready to defend. As years passed on and Dr. Hook entered on the seventh decade of life, he began to feel the effects of incessant toil and the worry and fret of strife and discord around him. He was offered and accepted the deanery of Chichester, to which quiet position he retired, and obtained the rest which was sought for. The last seven or eight years of his life were occupied in preparing and sending forth his "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury" (11 vols. 8vo). Offers of preferment were made to him in his old age, such as to become Dean of Canterbury, or of S. Paul's, or of Westminster; but with rare good sense,

and with right appreciation of waning capabilities for work, he declined them all. He died in October, 1875, after a long, active, varied, and useful life, and has left behind him the undying fragrance of a good name and the example of a brave soldier of Christ. Mr. Stephens sums up, in few words fitly spoken, all that need here be said of Dr. Hook: "It is in the *variety* of his powers, as well as in the force of character stamped upon all he said and did, that his chief claim lies to be considered an *extraordinary* man. He was at once an active pastor, an eloquent preacher, a laborious student, a voluminous letter-writer, an able historian, a witty humorist, a wise practical moralist, an earnest Christian and ardent patriot, and, every inch of him, a sturdy Englishman."

The present volume is very rich in letters and anecdotes of its subject. It has, too, a special interest to Americans, in the uniformly kind and generous feeling manifested by Dr. Hook toward the Church in America, and in his hearty appreciation of everything good and pure and true in our branch of the Church. A very striking likeness of the dean, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, appropriately faces the title-page of the volume.

J. H. S.

The Life and Correspondence of Sir Anthony Panizzi.*

This work is important and valuable for two reasons. It shows how a brilliant foreigner was able to reach a position where he could do the work he was best fitted for, the building up of the British Museum, and it contains much information about British and Italian politics and politicians during the last forty years. To most readers the work of Panizzi in renovating and enlarging the Museum will have most interest. The story is quite well told by Mr. Fagan, and the full story will be in when Mr. Henry Stevens adds in the autumn a third volume, containing twenty years' personal and bibliographical reminiscences of Panizzi and the British Museum. Panizzi was a remarkable man, as full of faults as of virtues, ready to venture upon important

* The Life and Correspondence of Sir Anthony Panizzi, K.C.B. By Louis Fagan. In Two Volumes. American Authorized Edition. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 8vo, pp. 389, 356. Price, \$6.

work, and doing his best to make it thorough. He was born at Brescello, Italy, on the 16th of September, 1797, was the son of a lawyer, studied in the University of Parma, and prepared himself for the legal profession. Joining the secret society of the Italian Carbonari, he was detected in disloyal acts toward the Government, and was compelled to flee from his native country. He joined the band of refugees then gathered in London, where he soon after received the bill of the hangman who had been charged with his execution, and, failing to obtain employment, wandered to Liverpool, where he fell into the friendly hands of the late William Roscoe. By him he was at length returned to London, and received great help from the late Lord Brougham, who appointed him to the Assistant-Librarianship in the British Museum. The Archbishop of Canterbury signed the appointment, and from that moment, at first slowly and then rapidly, it was found that a new spirit began to pervade that vast treasure-house of literature. He became the controlling spirit long before he was appointed Librarian, and was able to thoroughly renovate the institution. The ideas upon which he based his changes were that the Museum was not a show, but an institution for the diffusion of culture; that it was a department of the Civil Service, and should be conducted in the spirit of other public departments; and that it should be managed with the utmost possible liberality. These changes were his life-work, and they were made in such a way that not only the Houses of Parliament, but men of letters and culture all over England were inspired with a common purpose of making the Museum a great national institution. In carrying out his plans he made friends with the leading English statesmen, who helped him to grants from Parliament, organized the best possible corps of assistants, working harder himself than any of his subordinates, and left the library which he had found at the Montague House in 1835—a mass of some 40,000 volumes thrown together—a catalogued and classified collection of some 600,000 printed books. He was compelled to retire from his arduous post in 1866, but took rooms within sight of the Museum to which he had given the best years of his life, and lived on till the 8th of April, 1879, when he died, mourned for by all who knew him, and by men of genius especially. He was the foremost librarian of the cen-

ture, and raised the British Museum to a position where it compares favorably with the great libraries of the Continent. Mr. Fagan is not a first-class biographer. Much is left out which ought to have been put in, and much put in which ought to have been left out; but, with these abatements, these volumes are of much importance to literary persons, and introduce us to the methods and character of a rarely gifted man. Panizzi will always be remembered as the second founder of the Museum, and the third volume of personal reminiscences will be waited for with great interest. J. H. W.

The Life of Benjamin Franklin.*

Biographies of successful men are instructive and useful as guides and incentives to others; for to live with true and noble men in their biographies, to become acquainted with their habits, their personal history, their patient purpose, their steadfast integrity, their conversation, their virtues as well as their trials and sorrows, is an inspiration in itself. It exhibits what life is capable of being made. It refreshes the spirit, gives courage and faith—faith in others as well as in ourselves. There is no way in which history is taught so vividly, and by which we get so close to the springs of it.

No young man can rise from the perusal of such a life as that of Franklin without feeling his mind and heart made better, and his best resolves invigorated.

We are greatly indebted to the editor, Hon. John Bigelow, for these interesting volumes. He furnishes us, not only with the most complete edition of Franklin's autobiography, but from the period when that fragment closes until his death we have a continuous record of Franklin's life, his labors, his anxieties, and his triumphs, from his own pen, written when all the incidents were yet fresh and distinct in his mind. In his preface the editor says: "I have aimed to condense Franklin's own memorials of his entire life, hitherto scattered through many bulky volumes and yet more bulky manuscript

* The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Written by Himself. Now first edited from Original Manuscripts and from his Printed Correspondence and Other Writings. Second Edition, revised and corrected. By John Bigelow. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879. 3 vols., crown 8vo, cloth. Price, \$4.50.

collections, into a single compact work, and to give them the convenient order and attractiveness of a continuous narrative. To this end I have taken from his writings and correspondence whatever was autobiographical, and presented it in a strictly chronological order."

This work will never cease to exercise an elevating and ennobling influence on the youth of our land. A father will do wisely if he will present a copy to his son, warning him at the same time of the scepticism which unfortunately often controlled Franklin's thoughts; and although in later life he treated the Christian religion with reverence, yet he never avowed his faith in any religious system. This is the great flaw of his character; and though in many things he is a model for young men to imitate, yet we cannot entirely agree with Berthold Auerbach, who in his "Villa on the Rhine" pays such a noble tribute to Benjamin Franklin. Auerbach represents his hero, Erich, as going into his father's study, after the Professor's death, and taking from the library the first volume of Sparks' edition of the works of Franklin. This volume contained the autobiography and its continuation. Some extra leaves had been fastened into it, and bore his father's hand-writing. Opening the book he read these words, written by his father: "Cast away on an island, with nothing but this book, a man would not be alone, but in the midst of the world. . . . If I had to educate a youth, not for any definite calling, but only for true manhood and good citizenship, I should lay my hands on his head and say, My son, grow to be like Benjamin Franklin—no, not like him; but develop yourself, as Benjamin Franklin developed himself."

R. F. W.

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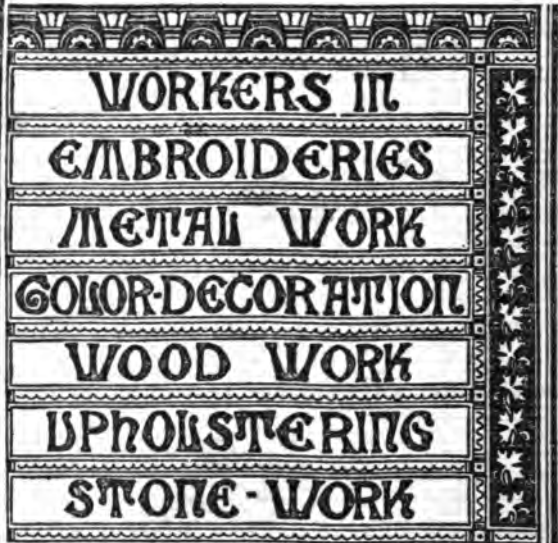
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